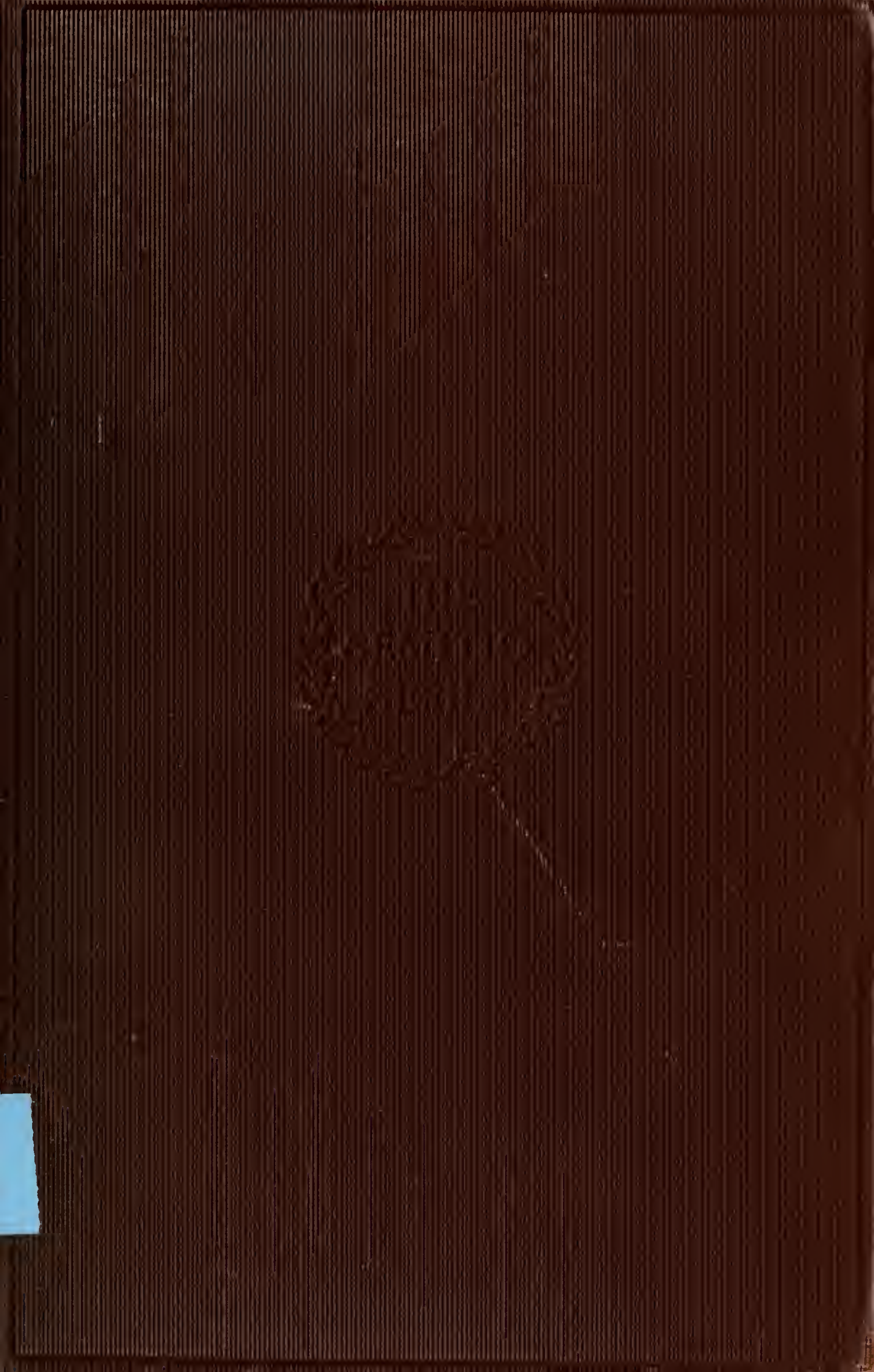










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THE EARLY HISTORY OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE

By LEWIS BAYLES PATON

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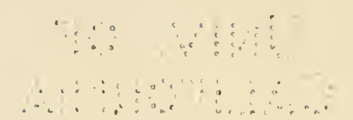
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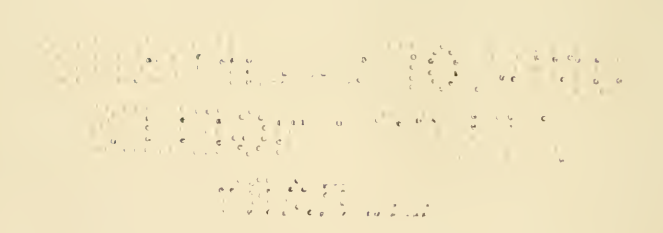
PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS AND CRITICISM IN
HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

WITH MAPS

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1901



Published September, 1901



TROW DIRECTORY
PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING COMPANY
NEW YORK

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INTRODUCTION

In ancient Babylonian usage Suri, from which our name Syria is derived, meant Northern Mesopotamia and the adjacent districts of the Armenian and Taurus mountain chains. In Greek and Roman times it was limited eastward and northward and was extended southward, so that it came to denote the region between the Taurus, the Euphrates, the Syrian Desert, Egypt, and the Mediterranean. This application of the name has become traditional, but it does not commend itself to the historian of the ancient Orient. From time immemorial the northern half of this region has been peopled by different races from the southern half, and politically the two divisions have been independent until comparatively recently. For these reasons it is advisable to limit the name Syria to the territory between the Taurus and Mount Hermon, and to apply to the remaining portion of the East Mediterranean coast the name of Palestine. This name is due to a late Greek extension of the meaning of Philistia; we have, however, no ancient designation that covers the region so precisely.

Oriental history divides naturally into three main

periods: the first, that of the development of the Semitic nationalities; the second, of the supremacy of the Indo-Germanic Persians, Greeks, and Romans; the third, of the rise of Islam. The purpose of this volume is to tell the story of the West Semitic peoples during the first of these periods, that is, from the earliest times down to the establishment of the Persian empire. Within the last few years important archæological finds have been made in Syria and Palestine. On account of their central position they were in constant contact with Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, and Arabia; and consequently, all discoveries in the Orient throw light upon their early history. In this book I have endeavoured to gather up the results of the most recent explorations, and combining them with the facts already known from the Bible and from other ancient sources, to present them in a clear and popular form. New discoveries are constantly being made, so that before this work leaves the press some of its conclusions will perhaps be already antiquated; nevertheless I trust that in the main it will be found to represent fairly the present stage of archæological and historical science.

The length of the period covered, and the limitation imposed upon the size of the volume, have often made it necessary merely to state conclusions without giving the reasons on which they are based. Full citation of the authorities to whom I am under obli-

gation has also been impossible. On pages xx–xxxvi I have given a list of the more important general discussions, and in the foot-notes I have indicated the chief treatises upon particular points. The histories of Israel and of the Phœnicians are to be treated in other volumes of the *Semitic Series;* I have, therefore, touched upon them only so far as was necessary to give completeness and connection to the history as a whole.

For the chronology of Babylonian and Assyrian history I have followed the conclusions of Lehmann,[1] whose discussion is the most thorough-going and self-consistent that has yet appeared. For the Egyptian kings from the XVIIIth dynasty onward I have adopted the dates of Lehmann and of Steindorff.[2]

[1] *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorientalischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1898. Lehmann's results have found the acceptance of Eduard Meyer, *Litterarisches Centralblatt*, 1899, No. 4; Rösch, *Jahresbericht für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1898, i. 17; Prášek, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1898, No. 42; Fossy, *Revue Archéologique*, 1899, p. 363 ff.; Tiele, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1900, p. 390 ff. Other historians, however, such as Hilprecht, Rost, Radau, Rogers, and Oppert, dissent strongly from Lehmann's conclusions; and, accepting the isolated statement of Nabuna'id that Naram-Sin reigned 3,200 (!) years before his time, place the first Babylonian kings 1,000 years earlier than the dates adopted in this work. *E.g.*, Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, p. 30, assigns Enshagkushanna to before 4500 B.C., Ur-Nina to 4300 B.C., and Sargon I. to 3800 (instead of 3400, 3200, and 2770, the dates that I have preferred in this book). The question of the chronology is by no means settled, and is not likely to be until more decisive facts are discovered.

[2] *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs*, Leipzig, 1900.

For the period before the Hyksos occupation I have followed Borchardt[1] in his conclusion that the heliacal rising of Sirius recorded in the *Papyrus Reinhardt* as occurring in the seventh year of Usertesen III. fell between the years 1876–72 B.C., and from this fixed point I have calculated the dates of the earlier dynasties. In the Chronology of Israelitish history I am most indebted to the investigations of Rühl.[2] A fuller discussion of the problems of the chronology will be found in my article on "Recent Investigations in Ancient Oriental Chronology," *Biblical World*, July, 1901. On pp. xiii–xix I have embodied my conclusions in a chronological table of the early Oriental kings. In the first column stands the nation that during the period in question held the supremacy.

The transcription of proper names has been attended with many difficulties. With considerable reluctance I have finally decided, in view of the popular character of this book, not to follow the modern scientific method of transcribing Semitic names, but to represent ח and its equivalents by *kh*, שׁ by *sh*, and not to try to distinguish between ב and כ or between ס and שׂ. In the transcription of Egyptian names, for the student's convenience, I have followed the system of Petrie in his *History of Egypt*.

[1] *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1899, 2.

[2] "Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*. xii 44–76, 171.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—I.

B.C.	KISH.	GISH-UKH (?)	LAGASH	EGYPT
3430			Enshagkushanna	
			"Lord of Kengi"	III. Nebka
			———	Zeser
			Urukagina	Mesokhris
			———	Soufis
			Enkhegal	Teta
	Udug—?		———	Nebkara
	———			Sezes
	Mesilim	Ush	Lugalshuggur	Heni
3220	———	———	———	IV. Sneferu
3200	Lugaldaak ?	———	Ur-Nina	Khufu
		Gunammide	Akurgal	Khafra
			Eannatum	Menkaura
	Alzuzua	Enakalli	Enannatum I.	Radedf
		Urlumma	Entemena	Shepseskaf
	Enne-Ugun	Ili	Enannatum II.	Sebekkara
	———	———	Lummadur	Aimhetep
2940	Urzaguddu	Ukush	———	V. Userkaf
	———	Lugalzaggisi	Lugalanda	Sahura
	Lugaltarsi	———	———	Neferarkara
	———			Shepseskara
	Manishtusu	Ezuab		Neferfra
	———			Raenuser
	Alusharshid			Menkauhor
	AGADE	UR		Dadkara
2770	Sharganisharali		Lugalushumgal	Unas
2750	Naram-Sin	Lugalkigubnidudu	Ure	VI. Teta
		Lugalkisalsi	———	Aty
		———	Ur-Ba'u	Meryra
		———	Nammakhni	Merenra
		———	———	Neferkara
2650		Ur-Gur	Gudea	
		Dungi	Ur-Ningirsu	
			Galukani	
		Bur-Sin I.	———	Merenra
		Gimil-Sin	Ur-Ninsun	Neterkara
		Ine-Sin		Menkara

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—II.

B.C.	BABYLON	ERECH	ELAM	EGYPT
2550		Singashid		VII. dynasty
		———		
		Singamil		
		———		
		ISIN		
2450		Ishbigirra		VIII. dynasty
		Libit-Anunit		
		Bur-Sin II.		
	I.	Ur-Ninib		IX.
2341	Sumuabi	Ishme-Dagan		Abmeryra
2327	Sumulailu	Enannatum		Kameryra
		LARSA		Maabra
2291	Zabu	Nur-Ramman	Kudur-	Skhanra
			Nankhundi	Khauserra
2277	Apil-Sin	Sinidinnam	———	Aahotepra
2259	Sinmuballit	———	———	Aa
2239	Khammurabi	Eri-Aku	Chedorlaomer	X. Khyan (?) *etc.*
2196	Samsuiluna			XI. Antef I.
				Mentuhotep I.
				Antef II.
2158	Ebishum			Antef III.
2133	Ammisatana			Mentuhotep II.
2108	Ammisadugga			Antef IV.
2087	Samsusatana			Antef V.
	II.			Mentuhotep III.
2056	Anmaan			Antef VI.
1996	Kiannibi			XII. Amenemhat I.
1940	Damkilushu			Usertesen I.
1914	Ishkibal			Amenemhat II.
1899	Shushshi			Usertesen II
1875	Gulki			Usertesen III.
1820	Kirgaldarabar			Amenemhat III.
1770	Aiadarakalamma			Amenemhat IV.
1742	Ekurulanna			Sebekneferura
1716	Melammakurkurra			XIII.
1708	Eaga			

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—III.

B.C.	EGYPT	BABYLON	ASSYRIA	MITANNI
		III.		
1688	Hyksos Rule,	Gandash	Shamshi-Ramman I.	
1672	Dynasties	Agumshi	Khallu	
1650	XIV., XV.,	Bitiliashu I.	Irishum	
1628	XVI., XVII.	Dushi	Igurkapkapi	
1619		Adumetash	Shamshi-Ramman II.	
1570	XVIII. Aahmes	Tashzigurmash		
1553	Amenhotep I.	Agumkakrime		
1544	Tahutimes I.	Karaindash	Ashurbelnisheshu	
1515	Tahutimes III.	Kadashman-Bel I.		
1461	Amenhotep II.	Burnaburiash I.	Puzur-Ashur	Artatama
1436	Tahutimes IV.	Kurigalzu I.	Ashurnadinakhe	Shutarna
1427	Amenhotep III.	Kadashman-Bel II.		
1392	Amenhotep IV.	Burnaburiash II.	Ashuruballit	Dushratta
1376	Tutankhaten	Karakhardash		
1374	Ay	Kadashmankharbe I.		HITTITES
1370	Horemheb	Kurigalzu II.	Belnirari	Sapalulu
1353	XIX. Ramessu I.	Nazimaruttash	Pudilu	
1347	Sety I.	Kadashman-Turgu	Rammannirari I.	Maurasera
1330		Kudur-Bel		
1324	Ramessu II.	Shagaraktiburiash	Shalmaneser I	Khatesera
		Bitiliashu II.	Tuklat Ninib I.	
1305		Rammanshumutsur I.	Ashurnatsirpal I.	
1258	Merenptah	Sibir ?	Tuklat-Ashur-Bel	
1238	Sety II.			
1224	Arisu	Kadashmanburiash	———	ISRAEL
1210	XX. Setnekht	Gishammeti		
1204	Ramessu III.	Shagaraktishuriash		Moses
1191	Ramessu IV.	Bitiliashu III.		
1183	Ramessu V.	Belshumiddin		
1182	Ramessu VI.	Kadashmankharbe II.		
1180	Ramessu VII.	Rammanshumiddin	Ashurnirari I.	Joshua
1174	Ramessu VIII.	Rammanshumutsur II.	Belkudurutsur	Deborah
1144	Ramessu IX.	Melishikhu	Ninibapalekurra	Ehud
1129	Ramessu X.	Merodachbaladan I.		
1116	Ramessu XI.	Zamamashumiddin	Ashurdan I.	Gideon
1115	Ramessu XII.	Belnadinakhe		

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—IV.

B.C.	ASSYRIA	BABYLON	EGYPT	ZOBAH
		IV.	XXI.	
1100			Khrikhor	
1095			Nesbindedi	
1080	Mutakkil-Nusku			
1060	Ashurreshishi	Nebuchadrezzar I.	Psukha'mne	
1040		Belnadinabli	Pinozem	
1023	Tiglathpileser I.	Marduknadinakhe	Amenemapti	
1001		Mardukakheirba		(Rehob?)
1000	Ashurbelkala	Mardukshapikzermate		
988	Shamshi-Ramman	Nabunadin		Hadadezer
		V.		
980		Shimmashshikhu	Saamen	
963	Ashurnatsirpal II.	Eamukinzer		
962		Kashshunadinakhe		DAMASCUS
		VI.		Rezon I.
959	Ashurirbi	Eulbarshakinshum	Psukha'mne	
942	Tiglathpileser II.	Ninibkudurutsur	XXII. (XXIII.)	(Hezion?)
940		Silanimshuqamuna	Shishak I.	
		VII.		
939	Ashurdan II.	The Elamite		Tabrimmon
933		VIII. Nabukinabli	Osorkon I.	
898	Rammannirari II.	Shamashmudammiq	Takelot I.	Benhadad I.
898		Nabushumishkun		
891	Tuklat-Ninib II.	Nabubaliddin	Osorkon II.	
885	Ashurnatsirpal III.			Benhadad II.
860	Shalmaneser II.	Marduknadinshum	Shishak II.	
844				Hazael
		Mardukbalatsuikbi		
825	Shamshi-Ramman	Bauakhiddin	Takelot II.	
812	Rammannirari III.		Shishak III.	Benhadad III.
783	Shalmaneser II.	IX.		
773	Ashurdan III.		Pimai	(Tabeel?)
755	Ashurnirari II.	Nabushumishkun	Shishak IV.	
745	Tiglathpileser III.	Nabunatsir (747)		
740				Rezon II.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—IV. *(Continued)*

B.C.	JUDAH	ISRAEL	TYRE	EDOM	AMMON
1100		Abimelech		Samlah	
1080		Jephthah		Shaul	
1060		Eli		Baalhanan	
1040		Samuel		Hadad II.	
1020		Saul			Nahash
1000	David	Ishbaal	Abibaal		Hanun
993		David			
969			Hiram I.		
960	Solomon	Solomon		Hadad III.	
931	Rehoboam	Jeroboam I.	Baalbazer		
915	Abijah		Abdashtart		
913	Asa	Nadab (910)	Ashtart		
909		Baasha	Astharymos	MOAB	
885		Omri	Phelles		
873	Jehoshaphat	Ahab (874)	Ethbaal	Chemoshmelek	Rukhub
853		Ahaziah	Baalazar	Mesha	Baasha
849	Jehoram	Joram (852)	Metten I.		
842	Ahaziah				
842	Athaliah	Jehu			
837	Joash				
815		Jehoahaz	Phygmalion		
798	Amaziah	Jehoash (799)			
790	Uzziah	Jeroboam II. (784)			
744		Menahem	Hiram II.		
735		Pekahiah	Metten II.	Salamanu	Sanipu
734	Ahaz	Pekah			
733		Hoshea			

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—V.

B.C.	ASSYRIA	BABYLON	EGYPT	ELAM
733		Nabushumiddin		Khumbani-gash I.
732		Nabushumukin		
732		X. Ukinzer		
729		Tiglathpileser III.	XXIV.	
727	Shalmaneser IV.	Shalmaneser IV.	Bokenrenf	Shutur-Nakhundi
722	Sargon II.	Merodachbaladan II.	XXV.	
709		Sargon	Shabako	
705	Sennacherib	Mardukzakirshum		
704		Merodachbaladan II.	Shabatako	
702		Belibni		
699		Ashurnadinshum		Khalludush
693		Nergalushezib		Kudur-Nak-hundi III.
692		Mushezib-Marduk	Tirhaqa	Umman-menanu
689		Sennacherib		Khumbakhal-dash I.
681	Esarhaddon	Esarhaddon	Esarhaddon	Khumbakhal-dash II.
668	Ashurbanipal	Shamashshumukin	Ashurbanipal	Urtaki
647		Ashurbanipal	XXVI. Psam-metik I.	Teumman
625	Ashuretililani	XI. Nabopolassar		MEDIA
	Sinshariskun		Necho II.	Phraortes
605		Nebuchadrezzar II.		Cyaxares
594			Psammetik II.	
588			Hophra	
570			Amasis	
562		Evil-Merodach		
559		Neriglissar		
556		Labashi-Marduk		Astyages
555		Nabonidus		Cyrus

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—V. *(Continued)*

B.C.	JUDAH	TYRE	MOAB	AMMON	EDOM
		Luli			
719	Hezekiah				
			Chemoshnadab	Puduilu	Malikrammu
701		Baal			
691	Manasseh				
			Mutsuri		Qaushgabri
				Amminadab	
637	Amon		Chemosh-Ashtart ?		
636	Josiah				
606	Jehoahaz				
606	Jehoiakim	Ethbaal II.			
596	Jehoiachin				
596	Zedekiah			Baalis	
		Baal II.			
		Balator			
		Merbaal			
		Hiram III.			

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The following abbreviations are used:

AOF. Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen.

BA. Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. semitische Sprachwissenschaft.

BOR. Babylonian and Oriental Record.

BW. Biblical World.

EB. Encyclopædia Britannica (ninth edition).

EBi. Encyclopædia Biblica, edited by Cheyne and Black.

ET. Expository Times.

GGA. Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

HDB. Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible.

JAOS. Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JA. Journal Asiatique.

JBL. Journal of Biblical Literature.

JQR. Jewish Quarterly Review.

MDPV. Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.

MVG. Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.

OLZ. Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung.

PAOS. Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.

PEFQ. Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement.

PSBA. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

RA. Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale.

RS. Revue Semitique.

SBAW. Sitzungsbericht der Berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

[1] For additional titles consult the *Orientalistische Bibliographie* of Scherman and the *Bibliography* of Muss-Arnolt appended to the American Journal of Theology and American Journal of Semitic Languages.

SWAW. Sitzungsbericht der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.
TSBA. Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology.
WZKM. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
UAG. Winckler, Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte.
ZA. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete.
ZÄ. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache u. Altertumskunde.
ZATW. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDMG. Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV. Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-vereins.
ZWT. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.

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SYRIA AND PALESTINE

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS

For the earliest period of the history of Syria and Palestine, as for many of the later periods, there are no native sources of information. Venerable as are the traditions preserved in the Old Testament Scriptures, they do not reach back farther than the time of the Patriarchs; and, in the light of recent archæological research, this is comparatively modern history. Systematic excavations, such as have been carried on for years in Egypt and in Assyria, have never been undertaken in Syria or in Palestine, and the few explorations that have been made have yielded no inscriptions that throw light on their early history. They are divided by geographical configuration into small isolated districts, in which petty independent states have arisen, but no great nations with stable civilizations. Where such nations do not exist, there is no motive for the erection of historical monuments.

But, although these lands have had no independent political development, they have been the channel

through which the trade of the ancient world has passed, and have been the prize over which the ancient empires have fought. Consequently, the lack of native records is made good to some extent by statements in the monuments of Egypt and of Babylonia. Here, unfortunately, our sources are extremely scanty. The Egyptians of the old empire had a Chinese-like scorn of all that was foreign, which not only impelled them to avoid relations with other nations, but also to ignore in their inscriptions such relations as actually existed. The Babylonian sources are somewhat fuller, still even here we have to be content with chance references in documents that treat in the main of wholly different subjects. The best that the historian can do is to gather these scattered items; and then, with the aid of hypothesis and inference from later conditions, endeavour to construct a picture of the most ancient period. Such a picture must of necessity be incomplete, and may at any moment be shown to be incorrect by further archæological discoveries.

At the earliest period disclosed to us by the Egyptian and the Babylonian records Syria and Palestine were already inhabited by Semites, that is, by a race ethnologically and linguistically allied to the Hebrews. This is proved by the Semitic names for Syrian places and Syrian articles of commerce in Egyptian, and also by representations of Asiatics upon the monuments. As early as the time of Sneferu, the first king of the IVth Egyptian dynasty (*c.* 3216 B.C.), the natives of the Sinaitic Peninsula are depicted with an unmistakably Semitic

cast of countenance; and on the tomb of Ptahhotep, which belongs to the same period, the same is true of a number of Egyptian mercenary troops.[1] From these facts we may infer that the Semites were in possession of the lands bordering on the eastern end of the Mediterranean as early as the fourth millennium B.C., but it is not safe to conclude that they were the primitive inhabitants. The oldest Egyptian and Babylonian records do not reach back farther than 3500 B.C., and in earlier unknown antiquity many races may have preceded the Semites.

That they were not aboriginal is probable from a variety of considerations. The fact that all the branches of this race, Assyro-Babylonian, Canaanitic, Aramæan, Sabæan, Ethiopic, and Arabian, are closely similar to one another, both in physiological structure and in language, points to their being descendants of a single primitive stock; and the original home of this stock was probably Arabia.[2]

That Arabia should have sent forth many successive waves of migration is natural, when one considers the physical characteristics of this region. It has a vast area, larger than the whole of the fertile territory occupied by the Semites. It is capable of producing immense bodies of population, but for these it yields only a scanty sustenance. The bulk of its inhabitants are nomads, and when pasture be-

[1] See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 293 f.; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 149.

[2] This theory of the origin of the Semites is now commonly accepted; there are, however, scholars who still maintain that the primitive home of the Semites was Central Asia, or even Africa.

comes scarce the stronger tribes crowd the weaker to the wall and compel them to seek new abodes. There is thus a constant tendency to overflow into the adjacent fertile regions. When the nomads come peacefully, they are speedily absorbed into the settled population. When they come in war, they are beaten back for a time by the superior arms of the civilized communities, until the pent-up flood of humanity becomes so great that no power can restrain it. Then it bursts its dams, and pours over all the neighbouring regions. This process has repeated itself frequently within historic times, notably in the great Aramæan migration, which about 1500 B.C. overflowed Western Asia, and in the Arabian migration of the seventh century A.D., so that it is only natural to suppose that it went on also in prehistoric times.

The earliest archæological remains in Syria and Palestine belong to the stone age; but the Semites, as comparative philology shows, must have reached a higher stage of civilization than this before their separation from one another. These antiquities, accordingly, will have to be assigned to a pre-Semitic race. Moreover, a number of ancient names of places admit of no Semitic etymology. These may naturally be regarded as survivals of pre-Semitic nomenclature.

An ethnological type strikingly different from the Semitic has been found in Syria and Palestine from the earliest times. The Semite, as we see him on the Egyptian and the Assyrian monuments and in modern Arabia, has a dark olive complexion and thick, black, curly hair; but alongside of this type the Egyptian monuments show also a fair-skinned, red-

haired race. The oldest Hebrew tradition[1] recognized Japhet, *i.e.*, probably "the fair," as the brother of Canaan and Shem; that is, as part of the earliest population of Palestine. Traces are not wanting in the Old Testament of the continued existence of this red-haired type among the Hebrews; David, for instance, was "ruddy and fair."[2] Red hair is seen even now among the Jews, and a blond type is not infrequent in modern mountain villages of Syria. It is well known that descendants of mixed races do not show a composite type, but tend to revert to one or other of the primitive types; consequently the facts just stated seem to indicate an early blending of Semitic invaders with a diverse aboriginal population.

To the pre-Semitic race are to be attributed the megalithic monuments that have been found in large numbers east of the Jordan[3] and less frequently west of the Jordan. Some of these belong to a relatively late period, as is shown by the copper implements discovered near them; but the majority go back to the stone age. They consist of *menhirs*, or solitary upright stones; *dolmens*, or table-like structures formed by placing a flat slab upon two uprights; and *cromlechs*, or stone circles. Monuments similar to these have been found in Western Europe, in Northern Africa, and at various points around the Mediterranean. This has led to the not improbable theory that the aboriginal population of Syria and

[1] Gen. ix. 25–27 (J, written probably in the ninth century B.C. in Judæa).

[2] 1 Sam. xvii. 42.

[3] See Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, p. 123 *sq.*

Palestine belonged to a blond race of European origin, the so-called Kelto-Libyan race, which once occupied the entire coast of the Mediterranean. Petrie's discoveries in Egypt[1] have proved that the dynastic Egyptians were preceded by a fair-haired people that was ethnologically allied to the ancient Libyans and to the modern Kabyles of the mountains of Algeria. This people forms the connecting link between the Syrian aborigines and their western kindred.

Frequent attempts have been made to identify the primitive population of Syria and Palestine with the Hittites, the Amorites, or some other race later occupying these regions; none of these theories, however, rests upon a sound scientific basis. The primitive race of Syria, whatever it was, did not survive in any of the later historic peoples. Where it was not exterminated, it was absorbed in the waves of Semitic migration, leaving no trace except in its impression upon the racial type of its successors.

The earliest migration of Semites known to history is that which peopled the lower valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris and which, for lack of a better name, is known as the "Babylonian." How early this migration took place can only be conjectured. A Semitic civilization was already in full bloom in Babylonia by 3500 B.C. This civilization remained practically unchanged down to the beginning of the Christian era. It must, therefore, have taken a considerable time for it to develop.[2]

[1] Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, 1895.

[2] Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i. 79.

Perhaps some clue to the date of this migration is afforded by observing the intervals which have elapsed between the later historical migrations. The Mohammedan expansion took place after A.D. 662; and the earlier Nabatæan, about 500 B.C. The Aramæan movement was at its height about 1500 B.C. The previous migration, which we may designate provisionally as the Amoritic-Canaanitic, must have occurred about 2500 B.C. Thus it appears that it took a thousand years each time to fill Arabia up to the point when it could no longer hold its inhabitants but must disgorge them upon the adjacent lands. This would give us 3500 B.C. as an approximate date for the first entry of the Semites into Babylonia.[1]

Now the question arises, whether this Babylonian Semitic migration was so wide-spread that it affected Syria and Palestine also. That this was the case is probable from the analogy of later movements of population. The Mohammedan conquest extended from India to Spain. The earlier Arabian invasion was held more in check by the strong arm of civilization, still it affected all the lands bordering on the desert. The Aramæan migration changed the character and the language of the entire population of Western Asia. As we shall see later,[2] the Amoritic-Canaanitic overflow was no less extensive. It is difficult, accordingly, to think that the earliest known Semitic expansion did not include Syria and Palestine as well as Babylonia. The causes that led the nomads to spread in one direction must have led them to spread in all directions, and the hordes that

[1] See Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 128. [2] Pages 26 ff.

were able to overcome the highly civilized Sumerians would have no difficulty in conquering the less civilized inhabitants of the lands west of the desert.[1]

Of the wide spread of the Babylonian Semites there are a number of evidences. The Assyrians, who dwelt far to the north, spoke the same language as the dwellers on the lower Euphrates and shared the same civilization. The people of Guti in Media and of Lulubi in modern Kurdistan, if we may judge from the inscriptions of their kings dating from the time of Sargon I. (*c.* 2750 B.C.), also spoke the Babylonian language. About the same time that the Babylonians entered Sumerian territory the dynastic Egyptians entered Egypt. It is difficult not to regard these two migrations as part of a single great movement. The Semites, pushing out in all directions, crowded before them the people of Punt (Southwest Arabia or Northeast Africa) and compelled them to crowd in their turn the Libyan population of the Nile valley. From Syria and Palestine we unfortunately have as yet no contemporary records, still the presence of Babylonian Semites in these regions is rendered probable by the close political relations which, as we shall see in the next chapter, the early monuments show to have existed between Babylonia and the West.

In regard to these early inhabitants of Palestine, our oldest sources of information are the Egyptian monuments of the IIId and the IVth dynasties (*c.* 3430–2939 B.C.). The presence of Asiatic products, such as cedar wood, copper, lead, and iron, and of

[1] Winckler, *Völker Vorderasiens*, p. 15.

European products, such as tin and amber, shows that a brisk trade with the outer world must have been kept up even under the old empire, but this trade seems to have been left wholly to foreigners. The ancient Egyptians were an unwarlike people, whose army was composed of mercenaries, and for centuries they attempted no conquests. Characteristic of their mental attitude is the erection of the frequently mentioned "Wall of the Princes" to keep out the Bedawin of the northeastern desert. Under these circumstances it is not to be expected that their monuments will yield much information in regard to tribes or places outside of Egypt.

The only exception to an anti-expansion policy was the working of mines in the Sinaitic peninsula. From these the early kings derived copper, turquoise, and other precious minerals; and to keep possession of them they were obliged to maintain garrisons and to make frequent military expeditions. The peninsula was known as Mafk, *i.e.*, "Malachite-land." The inhabitants were called Mentu,[1] a name of which the etymology is uncertain. They were also known as Inti, "cave-dwellers,"[2] Pedate-su, "bowmen (barbarians) of the desert,"[3] and Sopdu, *i.e.*, "belonging to the god Sopd."[4]

The treasures gathered from the mines roused the cupidity of the wild Semitic tribes living in the neigh-

[1] *Rock inscription of Sahura* (*c.* 2900).

[2] *Inscription of Khufu* (*c.* 3180).

[3] *List of the Nine Nations.*

[4] *Pyramid of Unas* (*c.* 2750). See Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, pp. 11–34.

bourhood and led them to make frequent attacks upon the garrisons. When these attacks became formidable, the Pharaoh sent an expedition to chastise the offenders and to restore order. The earliest recorded expedition of this sort was that of Neter-kha, who carved a brief inscription that still remains near the mines upon the rocks of the Wady Maghara. This king is apparently identical with Zeser, whose name stands in lists of the IIId dynasty, and who reigned about 3400 B.C. His inscription is the oldest known Egyptian historical document. No other expedition is mentioned until the time of Sneferu, the first king of the IVth dynasty (*c.* 3216), who also erected a tablet in the Wady Maghara. A bas-relief represents him seizing a bearded Semite by the hair and slaying him with a club, while an accompanying inscription gives the names and the titles of the king. Khufu (Cheops), the successor of Sneferu and builder of the great pyramid (*c.* 3187), also carved a relief in the Wady Maghara, representing him slaying Bedawin captives in the presence of the gods Thoth and Anubis. The Pharaohs of the Vth dynasty (*c.* 2939–2721), Sahura, Raenuser, and Dadkara, erected similar memorial tablets. A fresco of this period depicting the capture of a city may indicate that military operations were pushed as far as Palestine, but apart from this there is no evidence that this dynasty attempted more than the subjugation of the Sinaitic peninsula.

The VIth dynasty (*c.* 2721–2540) was the most vigorous dynasty of the old empire. Its monuments are more numerous and are more widely distributed than those of any of its predecessors. Meryra (Pepy I.),

its third king, not only chastised the Mentu of Sinai and recorded his triumph after the manner of the earlier monarchs, but also sent expeditions into the interior of Palestine. This is known from the oldest consecutive Egyptian history that has come down to us, the inscription on the tomb of Una (*c.* 2680).[1] The portion of this inscription which refers to these expeditions (lines 13–32) reads as follows:

"Thereupon His Majesty made war with the 'Amu (Asiatics), the Heru-sha (Bedawin), and gathered an army of many tens of thousands out of all the South from beyond Elephantine and northward, from the fork (?) of the Nile, out of the north-land, out of the temple-estates, out of the fortress (?), from within the fortresses (?), from the negro-lands of 'E'rtaet, Meda, 'Eman, Uauat, Kaau, and Tateam. His Majesty despatched me at the head of this army. In it were the princes; in it were the chief-treasurers; in it were the nearest friends (?) of the palace; in it were the chiefs and the governors of the cities of the south and of the north, the friends and the superintendents of the gold, the chief prophets of the south and of the north, and the superintendents of the temples (?), at the head of a troop out of the south and out of the north, out of the cities and the towns over which they ruled, together with the negroes of these lands. I was their leader (?) although my office was only that of superintendent of the royal garden (?). Each of these carried with him as much (provision) as another. Each of them stole dough and sandals from the traveller upon the way. Each of them seized goats from everybody. I led them to the northern island to the gate of Yhotep, to the . . . of Horus, the Lord of truth.

[1] Erman, "Commentar zur Inschrift des Una," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, pp. 1–29; *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 522; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 419; Birch, *Records of the Past*, ii., p. 1 ff.; Maspero, *Records of the Past*, *New Series*, ii., pp. 11 ff.

While I was in this city I reviewed (?) these troops, although no other servant (of the king) had reviewed (?) them beforehand. Thereupon this army came successfully, and cut to pieces the land of the Heru-sha. The army came successfully, and destroyed the land of the Heru-sha. The army came successfully, and cast down their strongholds (?). The army came successfully, and cut down their fig-trees and their vines. The army came successfully, and set on fire all their . . . The army came successfully, and slew many thousands of their troops. The army came successfully, and brought back a great multitude of them captive. For this His Majesty rewarded me beyond measure. Five times His Majesty sent me to command the army, to invade the land of the Heru-sha each time that they revolted. This I did in such a way that His Majesty praised me beyond measure. When it was reported that there was a revolt (?) of these barbarians in the land of . . . then I sailed on . . . ships with these troops. I sailed to the farthest . . . of the highland in the north of the land of the Heru-sha. Since this expedition had . . . on the way, I smote them all and slew every rebel (?) among them."

The name 'Amu (Asiatic), which occurs for the first time in this inscription, has been compared with the biblical Ham and with the Hebrew word '*am*, "people;" but more probably it is derived from an Egyptian root and means "boomerang-throwers."[1] In the earliest Egyptian monuments the Bedawin are frequently represented armed with boomerangs. 'Amu is here coupled with the epithets Heru-sha, "sand-dwellers," and Sti, "archers, barbarians," which shows that it must have been applied first to the nomads of the Sinaitic desert and afterward have been extended to remoter peoples. In this inscription Heru-sha

[1] See Müller, p. 123.

alone is used repeatedly for the inhabitants of Palestine; and as Una declares that he destroyed their vines and their fig-trees and that he sailed far to the north, it is evident that the name must already have lost its primitive meaning as early as the VIth dynasty and have become nothing more than a synonym of ‘Amu and a general designation for "Asiatics."

This invasion of Palestine is the first of which any record has come down to us in the Egyptian monuments. It gives an interesting glimpse into the manner of raising, officering, and provisioning an army. It shows the transportation of troops both by sea and by land, and it proves that the population of Palestine at this early date practised agriculture; beyond this it is tantalizingly deficient in details.

The other inscriptions of the old empire yield little historical information. All Asiatics they comprehend under the general name of Shasu, "plunderers," without troubling themselves about the political subdivisions of the barbarians. They give us none of the native names of the conquered peoples, but only descriptive titles invented by the Egyptians themselves; they tell us nothing about their language or their civilization; consequently, they throw but little light upon the ethnology or the early history of Palestine.

CHAPTER II

THE OLD BABYLONIAN SUPREMACY

3200-2500 B.C.

THE oldest extant cuneiform records show that as early as the fourth millennium B.C. the controlling influence in the civilization and in the politics of Syria and Palestine was exercised by Babylonia. Ur-Nina, the founder of the dynasty of Lagash (*c.* 3200),[1] relates that he brought cedar wood for his temples from Ma'al. The nature of the importation and the analogy of later kings lead us to conjecture that Ma'al was situated in Mount Lebanon or Mount Amanus. If so, Babylonian commerce with Syria was older than has commonly been supposed. The location of this region, however, is still uncertain.

The first king who is known positively to have maintained relations with the West is Lugalzaggisi (*c.* 2920). He has left the longest and, from our point of view, the most interesting inscription of the early Babylonian monarchs. It was engraved on one hundred vases, which he dedicated to the temple of Enlil at Nippur, and which were found by the American expedition broken into small pieces and cast out as rubbish. Hilprecht has succeeded in dis-

[1] See chronological table, p. vii.

criminating eighty-eight inscribed fragments that belonged to sixty-four of these vases, and in reconstructing from them almost completely the three columns of the original text. From this document we derive the astonishing information that the empire of Lugalzaggisi was as extensive as that of the great Assyrian kings 2,000 years later. His own words are as follows:

"When Enlil, king of the lands, gave Lugalzaggisi the kingdom of the world and granted him success before the world, when He placed the lands under his power and subdued (them) from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun; at that time He straightened his path from the Lower Sea of the Tigris and the Euphrates to the Upper Sea. Enlil caused his hands to receive gifts (?) from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun, (and) caused the lands to dwell in peace."[1]

From this it is clear that Lugalzaggisi reigned from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea. He is the only early king who states explicitly that he ruled over Syria, but it is not unlikely that all the other monarchs who obtained the hegemony of Babylonia in the fourth millennium exercised a similar authority. For the confirmation of this theory, however, we must await further monumental discoveries.

After Lugalzaggisi we have no record of Babylonian rule in the West until the time of Sharganisharali, king of Agade (*c.* 2770), an interval of nearly 200 years. According to the inscriptions published by Thureau-Dangin,[2] Sharganisharali conquered not

[1] Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, ii., p. 53; Radau'. *Early Bab. Hist.*, p. 135.

[2] *Comptes Rendus*, 1896, p. 355 ff., and *Revue d'Assyriologie*, iv. 3.

only Babylonia, Elam, and Guti, but also Martu. Whether this last name is an ideogram, or is to be read phonetically, we do not know. In later texts it is equivalent to Amurru, "the land of the Amorites," but there is no evidence that this was the case in these early times, or that Martu is derived from Amur-tu.[1] If the name be read phonetically, the most natural comparison is with the "land of Moriah" mentioned in Gen. xxii. 2. In any case Martu designates the region at the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

The identity of Sharganisharali with Sargon (Shar-ukin), the father of Naram-Sin, whose record Nabuna'id discovered in rebuilding a temple at Sippar, was long doubted, but has been established by recent discoveries.[2] Accordingly, we may supplement the monuments with the statements of an omen-tablet discovered at Nineveh. This purports to give the signs under which Sargon and Naram-Sin undertook their campaigns. The document is written in Assyrian and was designed to furnish precedents for Ashurbanipal, still it must have been based upon a Babylonian original, since it is inconceivable that its contents should have been invented by the Assyrian astrologers. The omens are recorded under which Sargon conquered Elam, Katsala, and Suri (Mesopotamia). Four times it is stated that Sargon invaded the land of Martu (Syria). In connection with one of these expeditions we read:

[1] This theory is advocated by Professors Hommel and Sayce.

[2] Heuzey, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, iv., pp. 8, 11; Radau, *Early Baby'onian History*, p. 7.

"Sargon went up to . . . , his terror he (spread) over (the land); the sea of the setting sun he crossed; three years at the setting of the sun he conquered (the lands) and made them of one accord; his statue at the setting of the sun he set up; their prisoners he transported over land and sea."

These statements were once thought to be merely a legendary echo of the exploits of the Assyrian king Sargon II.; but now, in view of the recently discovered monumental evidence of the wideness of the first Sargon's conquests, they are generally conceded to be historical. They open up a wonderful vista into the history of the ancient Orient. At the beginning of the third millennium all of Western Asia was ruled by a single monarch. Syria must have been completely under his control, or he would not have ventured to cross the sea and attempt more distant conquests.

Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon (2750), entitles himself in his inscriptions "king of Agade, king of the four quarters of the earth." The omen-tablet mentioned above contains two items in regard to his conquests; one that he marched to Apirak and took captive Rish-Ramman its king, the other that he conquered Magan (Eastern Arabia) and took its king captive. The historical character of the latter expedition is strikingly confirmed by an inscription reading, "Naram-Sin, king of the four quarters; a vase, the spoil of Magan." Of further victories we have no record, since the omen-tablet breaks off at this point. That Naram-Sin maintained the empire of his father in the West is probable in view of his conquests in other regions and of the magnificence of

his undertakings at Nippur. An inscription with a portrait discovered at Diarbekr shows that he ruled the district of Suri (Mesopotamia), where Sargon had won triumphs before him. An indirect evidence that his rule extended even beyond the sea is furnished by a cylinder-seal, discovered by Cesnola in Cyprus, which bears the inscription, "Abil-Ishtar (?), son of Ilu-Bani, servant of the god Naram-Sin." The characters of this inscription are of a later period than that of Naram-Sin, still it indicates that this monarch was deified and that his cult long persisted in Cyprus. His apotheosis seems to have taken place even during his lifetime, if we may judge from the seal on a document sent to Lugalushumgal, patesi of Lagash, which reads, "The god Naram-Sin, god of Agade, Sharru-Ishdagal, the scribe, thy servant."[1] Naram-Sin is the first Babylonian monarch to claim divinity. The assumption proves the greatness of his empire and may also indicate the beginning of contact with Egyptian thought.

Soon after the dynasty of Agade the seat of authority shifted once more to South Babylonia, and with Ur-Gur a second dynasty of Ur came upon the scene.

Contemporary with Ur-Gur was Gudea, *patesi*, or "viceroy," of Lagash (*c.* 2650), whose name has been immortalized by the discoveries of De Sarzec at Telloh. This ruler devoted his energy to the building and the adornment of the temple of the god Ningirsu. In his effort to secure rare and precious materials he carried on an extensive commerce with the East and with the West, of which he has left an extraordinarily

[1] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, iv. 3, p. 76.

full account in his monuments. The chief passage reads as follows : [1]

"When he (Gudea) built the house of Ningirsu; Ningirsu, his beloved king, opened his way from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea. In Amanum, the mountain of cedars, he procured cedars whose length was twenty-five cubits, cedars whose length was fifty cubits, *urkarinu*-trees whose length was twenty-five cubits, and brought them down out of their mountains. . . . These cedars he made into doors. He covered them with metal plates and set them up in the temple of Eninnu. In *Imakhkia* its *sigdi*(*da*) he employed as beams. In Ursu, in the mountain of Ibla, he cut down *zabanu*-trees, great cedars, *tulubu*-trees, trees of the mountain *AD-KU*, and made of them beams in the temple of Eninnu. From Shamanu, the mountain of the land of Minu, from Subsalla (?), the mountain of Martu, he brought great blocks of stone, dressed them as building-stone, and built of them the platform (?) in the temple of Eninnu. From Tidanum, the mountain of Martu, he brought alabaster (?) in its *KIR*, and made it into *urpadda* and employed as bolts (?) for the house. In Kagalad-(ki) (?), the mountain of Kimash, he dug copper and made it into. . . . From the land of Melukhkha he brought *ushû*-wood and made it into boards (?), he brought (copper). . . . Gold, the dust of the land, he brought from the mountain of Khakhum, and made it into. . . . Gold, its dust, he brought from the land of Melukhkha, and made it into *imaruru*. . . . From Gubin, the land of the *khalub*-trees, he brought *khalub*-trees and made them into . . . From the land of Madga, the mountain of the river Galuruda, he brought . . . and built the platform (?) of the temple of Eninnu. . . . From the mountains of Barsip he filled great ships with *nalua*-stone . . . the foundation of the

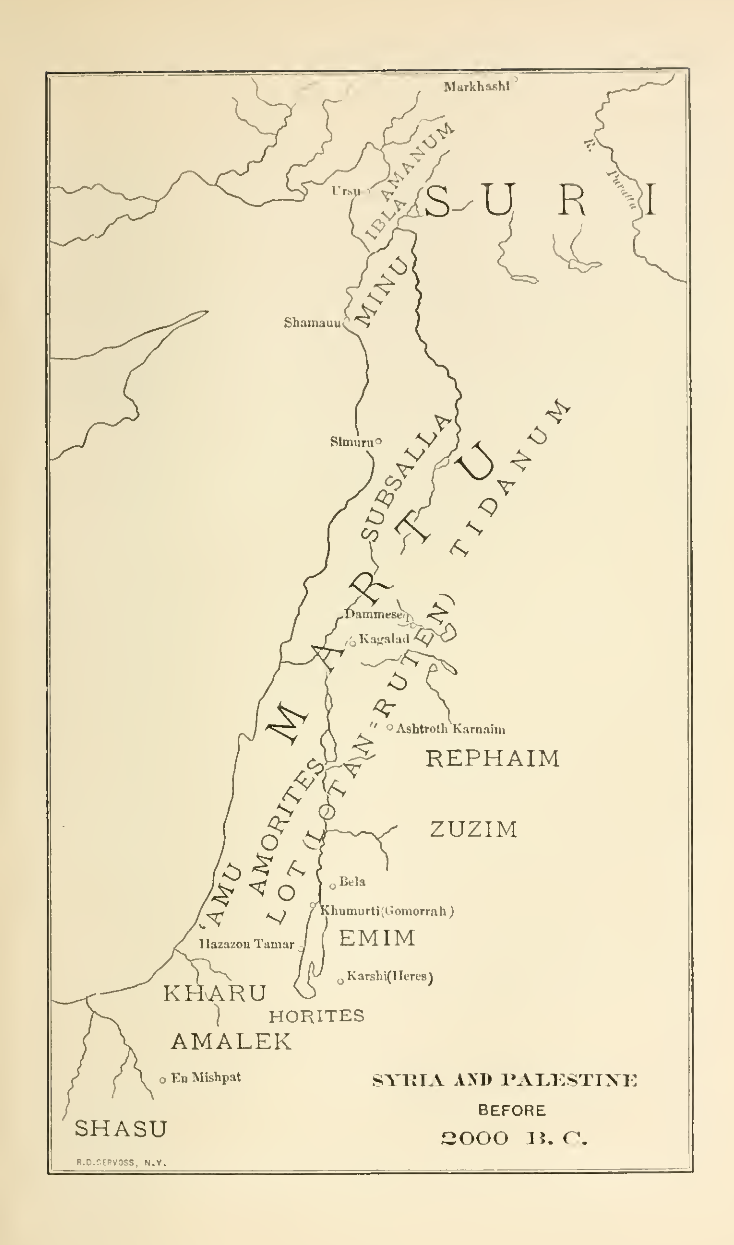
[1] Gudea B, col. v. 1, 21; *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii. 1, p. 32 f.; Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, ii. 2, p. 398; Amiaud, *Records of the Past, New Series*, ii., pp. 79 f.; Price, *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea.*

temple of Eninnu. The arms of Anshan in Elam he defeated and dedicated its booty to Ningirsu in Eninnu. Gudea, patesi of Lagash, when he built the temple of Ningirsu, made it a treasure house."

In addition to this, Gudea states that he brought dolerite for his statues from Magan, and ships laden with all sorts of wood from Magan, Melukhkha, Gubin, and Dilmun.

The location of a number of these places is doubtful, still enough are known to make it clear that the commercial operations covered a large area. The "Upper Sea" is unquestionably the Mediterranean, and the "Lower Sea" is the Persian Gulf. Amanum is the classical Amanus, the modern Taurus chain between Syria and Cilicia; Martu is Syria; Melukhkha is Western Arabia; Magan is Eastern Arabia; Dilmun is an island in the Persian Gulf; and Elam is the region to the east of Babylonia. As Jensen has pointed out,[1] a natural geographical order is followed in the enumeration of the regions whose location is certain. This leads to the conjecture that the same order is followed in the case of the other regions. Applying this principle, he identifies the names as follows: Ursu is the modern Arsus, near the mouth of the Gulf of Iskanderian; and Ibla is the classical Pieria, the first mountain-chain to the south of Amanum. Shamanu is Mount Cassius, and Minu is the North Syrian region Menus mentioned in the later Egyptian records. Subsalla is Mount Lebanon, Tidanum is the Anti-Lebanon, and Kagalad-(ki), the mountain of Kimash, is Hermon.

[1] *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, x., p. 361.



SYRIA AND PALESTINE
BEFORE
2000 B. C.



Only in the case of Anshan in Elam does Gudea record military operations. The word *ag-ag* which he uses ordinarily means simply "make, get," and contains no suggestion of conquest. As *patesi*, or "vassal-king," he could not have led expeditions against these remote regions. Accordingly, we must assume that all the products used in the erection of the temple were acquired by peaceful traffic. It gives one a high opinion of the civilization of Western Asia in the third millennium to find that building-materials, precious metals, and minerals could be procured and be transported safely from the remotest regions to gratify the taste of a petty provincial ruler. Gudea's dealings are merely one instance of a trade that must have flowed through all parts of the Babylonian world. The possibility of such commerce is the best proof of the historicity of the conquests of Naram-Sin, Sargon, and their predecessors. Strong hands must have held the reins of government for many generations before the distant tribes through whose territory Gudea's treasures passed learned to respect the rights of traders; and Ur-Gur, his suzerain, must have been a mightier monarch than his scanty inscriptions would lead us to infer.

In regard to the successors of Ur-Gur in the dynasty of Ur, our chief source of information is a tablet which has been reconstructed skilfully by Thureau-Dangin[1] from a number of fragments of duplicates. It not only establishes the true succession of the monarchs of this dynasty, but also seems to prove that there was but one king of the name of Dungi. He

[1] *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, June, 1898.

at first assumed the titles of his predecessor, "king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad;" but later he added "king of the four quarters." This apparently corresponds with a gradual extension of his authority. The tablet just mentioned contains the statement, "the year in which he raised his daughter to the rank of lady of Markhashi." Markhashi can hardly be anything else than the modern Marʿash, a city located at the foot of the Taurus range whence Gudea fetched his cedars. Commercial relations apparently were strengthened by the marriage of a princess of Ur to the sovereign of this remote region. Another year Dungi married a daughter to the *patesi* of Anshan, a district to the east of Babylonia. Four years were marked by victorious expeditions against Simuru. Twice he devastated Karkhar, Kharshi, and Khumurti, and once Anshan, Shashru, Lulubu, Urbillu, and Kimash. Simuru is doubtless Simyra, the modern Sumra, a city on the North Syrian coast. Karkhar seems from its association with Simuru and Kimash to have been a region of the West, but its exact location is unknown. Kharshi may be compared with Heres, or Kir Heres (the modern Kerak), the later capital of Moab and its chief stronghold. Khumurti is the phonetic equivalent of ʿAmorah, Gomorrah. Kimash, which is identified by Jensen with Hermon, has been mentioned already in connection with Gudea. From these references it is clear that Dungi held sway over an empire as great as that of Sargon and Naram-Sin. For the most part the relations throughout this domain were peaceful, but now and then a revolt in some remote

district necessitated the armed intervention of the king. The administration appears to have been similar to that of the Assyrian monarchs 2,000 years later.

Bur-Sin, Dungi's successor, maintained the supremacy of Ur and conquered the refractory provinces of Urbillu, Shashru, and Khukhnuri.

Gimil-Sin, the next king, subdued Simanu, which probably is the same as Shamanu of the land of Minu, from which Gudea brought building-stone[1] and also Zabsali, which apparently is the same as the Subsalla of Gudea.[2] One year of his reign has the extraordinary comment, "year in which he constructed the wall of Martu (the west?) called Muriq-Tidnim." Whatever this may mean, it is evidence of the importance of Syria for early Babylonia. The combination of Martu and Tidanum is the same that we meet in Gudea.[3] Scanty as these historical items are, they are sufficient to show that the dynasty of Ur wielded a power as great as that of any of its predecessors.

Our survey of the earliest monuments of Babylonia makes it clear that from at least 3000 to 2500 B.C. Syria, and probably Palestine also, stood under the rule of Babylonian monarchs. Politically as well as ethnologically they formed an integral part of the ancient Babylonian world. Whichever city held the hegemony on the Euphrates assumed as a matter of course the government of the West. With the fall of the second dynasty of Ur this supremacy came to an end. For 300 years Babylonia was wasted by foreign

[1] See page 19. [2] See page 20. [3] See page 19.

invasion and by internal strife. Out of this turmoil came a new order of things, in which the city of Babylon became the mistress of Western Asia. This transition marks the beginning of a new period of our history.

CHAPTER III

THE AMORITIC MIGRATION

2500–2230 B.C.

ABOUT 2500 B.C. a second wave of Semitic migration poured out of Arabia and overflowed Babylonia. Evidence of this is found in a new type of proper names that suddenly makes its appearance.[1] Among the kings of the first dynasty of Babylon and in contract-tablets of the same period names occur in which the deity is designated as 'Abi, "my father," or 'Ammi, "my paternal uncle." These formations are not Babylonian, but are characteristic of the Canaanitic group of languages (Hebrew, Phœnician, Moabitic, Ammonitic, etc.). Thus, in a contract-tablet of the time of Apil-Sin the name Abi-ramu occurs,[2] which is identical with the Hebrew Abiram and Abram. Ebishum, the eighth king of dynasty I., is written in the contract-tablets Abi-e-shukh, which is the etymological equivalent of the Hebrew Abishua. Three of the kings of dynasty I. bear names compounded with 'Ammi—namely, 'Ammisatana, 'Ammisadugga, and Khammurabi,

[1] Pognon, *Journal Asiatique*, 1888, pp. 543–547; Hommel, *Zeitschrift d. deutsch. morgenländ. Gesell.*, xlix., pp. 522 ff.; *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, Chap. III.; Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, Chap. I.; Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, ii. 396–400.

[2] Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, No. 111, p. 91.

whose name is also found written ‘Ammurabi.[1] With these we may compare the Hebræo-Canaanitic ‘Ammi'el, ‘Ammihud, ‘Ammizabad, ‘Amminadab, and ‘Ammishaddai. That the Babylonians themselves regarded names of this type as foreign is shown by a list in which Khammurabi and ‘Ammisadugga are translated into their Babylonian equivalents.[2]

Two kings of the first dynasty, Sumu-abi and Sumu-la-ilu, bear names compounded with Sumu, as in the Hebrew name Samu-el. There are a number of names of this period in which the imperfect third person singular of the verb is formed with a prefixed *ya*, as in Hebrew and Arabic, and not with prefixed *i*, as in pure Babylonian. Here belong Ya‘qub-ilu (Heb. Ya‘aqob-el, "Jacob-god"), Yamlik-ilu, Yarbi-ilu, Yashub-ilu (perhaps=Yosef-el, "Joseph-god"), Yakbar-ilu, Ya'zar-ilu.

Additional evidence of a foreign invasion is found in letters of the first dynasty of Babylon, which, according to Winckler,[3] are as full of Canaanitic idioms as are the Amarna letters.

That this migration was not limited to Babylonia is proved by the ancient Minæan inscriptions which Halévy and Glaser have discovered in South Arabia. The names found in these are of precisely the same types as those that we have just discussed. Thus the Minæan Ammi-tsaduqa is the same as Ammisadugga, and the Minæan Ili-yada‘a, Ili-sami‘a, and Abiyathu‘a are the same as the Hebrew Eliada, Elishama, and

[1] Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, p. 13.

[2] Hommel, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 88.

[3] *Altorientalische Forschungen*, ii. 1, p. 94; ii. 2, p. 396.

Abishua. All this shows either that the new Semitic migration which entered Babylonia came from South Arabia, or that both Babylonia and South Arabia were invaded from a common centre.

The Egyptian monuments bear witness that the valley of the Nile also was overrun by Semites at the same time when Babylonia was invaded. The 'Amu, against whom Una contended, were apparently the forerunners of a great racial movement. From the end of the VIth Egyptian dynasty, which was nearly contemporaneous with the end of the second dynasty of Ur, to the beginning of the XIth dynasty there is an almost complete blank in the history of Egypt. The Pharaohs of Memphis gradually lost their control over the provinces, and were finally compelled to retreat toward the South, and to establish a new kingdom at Herakleopolis. It is the same phenomenon that we meet in Babylonia after the end of the second dynasty of Ur, political dissolution caused by the entrance of large bodies of alien population. At last, about the same time that kings with foreign names appeared in the first dynasty of Babylon, a foreign Pharaoh seated himself upon the throne of Egypt. Khyan (*c.* 2224) is entitled on his scarabs and cylinders "lord of the desert," which is the title given to the chief of the thirty-seven Bedawin whose visit to Egypt in the reign of Usertesen II. is depicted on the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hassan.[1] The name Khyan has been compared with Kha-ya-nu, a king of northern Syria in the time of Shalmaneser II.[2]

[1] Petrie, *History of Egypt*, i., p. 120.

[2] Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, i., p. 130.

Two of the kings who followed Khyan bore the names Uazed and Yaqeb-her.[1] These are not Egyptian but Semitic, and since Egyptian *r* takes the place of Semitic *l*, Yaqeb-her is the equivalent of Yaqub-ilu, "Jacob-god," which, as we have seen, is found in a contract-tablet of the time of the first dynasty of Babylon.

Canaan also was affected by this Semitic migration, as is shown by two proper names of this period. In the *Romance of Sinuhit*, which dates from the reign of Amenemhat I. (*c.* 2000), the name of the chief of Tenu is written Am-mue'en-shi. This name is to be read Ammi-anshi and is generally regarded as the same as the South Arabian name Ammi-'anisa. The chief of the thirty-seven Asiatics who visited Egypt during the reign of Usertesen II. bore the name Ibsha', which apparently is the same as the Hebrew Abishai. Moreover, Bondi[2] has shown that from the time of the XIth dynasty onward loan-words of Canaanitic origin began to be frequent in Egyptian.

We are led thus to the conclusion that about 2500 B.C. a wave of Semitic migration overflowed Western Asia from Babylonia to Egypt and from Syria to South Arabia. The name which is most appropriate for this migration is Amoritic. In a contract-tablet of the reign of Ammisadugga (2108), a region in the vicinity of Sippar is called *Amurru*, *i.e.*, "the Amorite;" and in another tablet of the same period this is identified with *MAR-TU*, which is the ideogram (or the

[1] Petrie, *History*, i., p. xix.

[2] *Dem hebräisch-phönizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (1886).

ancient name) for Syria-Palestine.[1] From this it follows, first, that *MAR-TU* of the earlier Babylonian inscriptions had become equivalent to *Amurru*, "the Amorite land;" and second, that there were Amorites in Babylonia, who, after the analogy of their western relatives, could be designated *MAR-TU*. Amoritic, accordingly, is a name broad enough to cover all branches of this migration.

In Babylonia and in Egypt, where the population was crowded, the new-comers were speedily absorbed by the older race. In Syria and Palestine it was otherwise. Here there existed no dense population, no independent civilization, and no highly organized political institutions: consequently the brunt of the migration fell upon these regions. Since the immigrants vastly outnumbered the older inhabitants, their language became the established language of the country, and persisted, in spite of later invasions, until the Aramaic finally drove it from the field.

The Amoritic invasion so weakened Babylonia that it lost its supremacy in Syria and Palestine and could not resist the attacks of its neighbours. Kudur-Nankhundi, king of Elam, gathered his clans and swept down upon his hereditary foe. The Elamites had old scores to pay off, and now that their turn had come they showed Babylonia no mercy. They pillaged its cities, slew its people, burned its temples, and carried off the images of its gods. The venerable sanctuary at Nippur, where for more than 1,000 years

[1] Meissner, *Beiträge z. altbab. Privatrecht*, No. 42 and 72; Hommel, *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, xlix., p. 524; Jensen, *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, x., p. 341.

the votive tablets of the kings had been set up, they razed to the ground, and broke its precious tablets in pieces. A similar fate probably overtook the records of the other ancient sanctuaries, and to this catastrophe is due the fact that Babylonian historical tradition does not reach beyond the time of the Elamitic invasion.

The date of this conquest is given by the interesting statement of Ashurbanipal that, after his great victory over Elam, he brought back the image of the goddess Nana, which, 1,635 years before, Kudur-Nankhundi had carried away from its temple at Erech. This places the Elamitic incursion about 2280 B.C. It must thus have occurred during the reign of Zabu, the third king of the first dynasty of Babylon.

Kudur-Nankhundi did not himself administer the newly conquered territory, but entrusted it to a viceroy whose headquarters were at Larsa. Eri-Aku (=Arad-Sin, "servant of the moon," in Semitic Babylonian) calls himself in his inscriptions the "son of Kudur-Mabuk, the *adda* of Emutbal." The meaning of *adda* is uncertain, but it is supposed to denote either "father" or "prince." Kudur-Mabuk is a pure Elamite name, and Emutbal is a region of Western Elam bordering on Babylonia.

In one of his inscriptions Kudur-Mabuk calls himself "*adda Martu*," *i.e.*, "prince of Martu." Since he styles himself elsewhere "*adda Emutbal*," Tiele maintains[1] that Martu in this case is equivalent to Emutbal and means nothing more than West Elam.

[1] *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 123 f. ; *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. "Chedorlaomer."

It does not follow, however, because he was prince of Emutbal and prince of Martu, that these two regions were identical. Martu means primarily "Syria and Palestine," and only secondarily, "west," so that it is not natural that it should be used as a name for West Elam. Moreover, it is hard to see how in a Babylonian inscription a region to the east could be designated as the "west land." We are shut up, therefore, to the alternatives, either that Martu is a region in North Babylonia near Sippar, of which mention has been made already,[1] or else that it is Syria-Palestine. That Kudur-Mabuk should entitle himself after a minor region of North Babylonia is improbable; Martu, accordingly, must have its ordinary meaning.

From this it follows that Kudur-Mabuk's suzerain exercised an authority similar to that of the great Babylonian monarchs of an earlier period. As we have seen, the hegemony of Babylonia carried with it the rule of Mesopotamia, as well as of Syria and Palestine. If the kings of Ur who preceded the dynasty of Elam, and the kings of Babylon who followed it could maintain political and commercial relations with the West, it is hard to see why this dynasty should not have maintained similar relations.

At this point the national tradition of the Hebrews begins. In Gen. xiv. Abram is represented as the contemporary of Eri-Aku (Arioch) and as living at the time of the Elamitic supremacy.[2] This chapter is regarded by all recent critics as an independent docu-

[1] Page 28. [2] For literature on Gen. xiv., see. p. xxxi.

ment diverse in origin from the three main sources out of which the Book of Genesis is composed. It relates how in the days of 'Amraphel king of Shinar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, in company with Arioch king of Ellasar, and Tidal king of Goiim, subdued the kings of the Vale of Siddim. Thirteen years later they rebelled, and the following year he came up with his allies and smote the regions east of the Jordan and of Southern Palestine. Then turning eastward, he engaged the kings of the Vale of Siddim, defeated them, and carried away spoil and captives. Hearing of this, Abram, who dwelt by the oaks of Mamre, gathered his allies, the Amorites, pursued after Chedorlaomer, fell upon him suddenly by night, routed his army, and pursued the fugitives as far as Hobah in the neighbourhood of Damascus. Returning, he restored his possessions to the king of Sodom, and paid tithes to Melchizedek, the priest-king of Salem.

It is now generally admitted that 'Amraphel is the same as Khammurabi, or 'Ammurabi, the sixth king of the first dynasty of Babylon. The *el* at the end of the name makes some difficulty, but Lindl suggests that it is the word for "god;" 'Amraphel will then equal 'Ammurabi-ilu.[1] Arioch is probably the same as Eri-Aku of the monuments.[2]

Whether the three other eastern kings of Gen. xiv. 1

[1] It should be noted that the vowels were not written in the old Hebrew script. Those now accompanying *'m r p l* are a late conjectural insertion.

[2] For various theories in regard to this name see Schrader, *Sitzungsbericht d. K. Preuss. Akademic*, *phil.-hist. Classe*, Oct. 24, 1895; Winckler, Keilinschr. Bibliothek, iii. 1, p. 92 f.

are mentioned in the Babylonian records is much disputed. In 1896 Mr. Pinches, of the British Museum, published a series of epic fragments,[1] describing apparently an invasion of Babylonia, in which a name written *KU-KU-KU-KU-mal* or *KU-KU-KU-mal* occurs. The sign *KU* has also the value *dur*, hence the first two syllables may be read, *Kudur*. Pinches attempted to show further that the third and the fourth signs can have the value of *lagh* and *ga* respectively. In that case the name as a whole may be read Kudur-Laghgamal, which is the correct phonetic equivalent of Chedor-la'omer. In the same fragments the names Eri-E-a-ku and Tu-ud-khul-a appear, and these Pinches identified with Eri-Aku (Arioch) and Tid'al. Later investigators [2] have called all these readings in question, and have denied that the tablets contain any mention of Chedorlaomer, Arioch, or Tidal. Sayce, however, still maintains that the readings and the identifications are correct.[3]

In 1896 Scheil published a letter of Khammurabi to a certain Sinidinnam in which he claimed to find mention of "the day of Ku-dur-nu-ukh-ga-mar." He regarded Sinidinnam as identical with the king of Larsa of that name, and supposed the letter to refer to a victory of Khammurabi over Chedorlaomer. King, however, has shown [4] that the true reading is

[1] *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, xxix., pp. 45–90.

[2] King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi*, i., pp. xxv.–xxxvi.; Tiele, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1900, p. 395 f.; Bezold, *ibid.*, p. 400.

[3] *Expository Times*, March, 1899, p. 267.

[4] *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi*, i., p. xxxv.

not Ku-dur-nu-ukh-ga-mar, but I-nu-ukh-sa-mar,[1] and that Sinidinnam is not the king of Larsa. It still remains doubtful, therefore, whether Chedorlaomer is mentioned in the Babylonian monuments.

Chedor-la'omer, or Kudur-Laghamar, is an Elamitic name of precisely the same formation as Kudur-Nankhundi and Kudur-Mabuk, and Laghamar is a well-known Elamitic deity. Since the Elamitic supremacy lasted at least fifty years, there is no difficulty in supposing that Kudur-Laghamar was one of the successors of Kudur-Nankhundi.

Not only does Gen. xiv. give the names of two, and possibly five, of the early Babylonian kings, but it also gives correctly the regions over which they ruled. Amraphel is called "king of Shinar." From Gen. xi. it is evident that the Hebrews located this land in North Babylonia, and regarded Babel (Babylon) as its chief city. With this corresponds the fact that Khammurabi was king of Babylon. The episode is dated "in the days of Amraphel," rather than in the days of Chedorlaomer; this implies a knowledge of Khammurabi's supremacy over Western Asia after his defeat of the Elamites. Ellasar, the residence of Arioch, is manifestly a corrupted form of Larsa, the capital of Eri-Aku. Chedorlaomer is called "king of Elam," which corresponds with the purely Elamitic form of his name.

Gen. xiv. is correct also in making Amraphel, Ari-

[1] Much useless and harmful writing has been provoked by Father Scheil's copy, in which, out of a line of *nine* signs, *four* were misread. Cf. Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians* (this series), p. 211, note. [Cr.]

och, and Chedorlaomer contemporaries. Eri-Aku is known to have inflicted a defeat upon Sin-muballit, Khammurabi's father, and subsequently to have been overthrown by Khammurabi himself. The Elamitic supremacy was contemporaneous with Amraphel and Arioch, for North Babylonia was not subdued until Eri-Aku's victory over Sin-muballit, and Khammurabi was the expeller of the Elamites.

It appears, accordingly, that Gen. xiv. displays a surprisingly accurate knowledge of early Babylonian history. So many details cannot have come down through oral tradition, but must rest upon some documentary basis. Either records of the time of Chedorlaomer were preserved in Palestine, or else the Jews, after they were carried into captivity, had access to Babylonian tablets of this period. In the first case, the story of Abram's relations to the kings of the East must be regarded as an integral part of the record; in the second case, it will have to be pronounced a fanciful *midrash* appended to authentic ancient data.

The theory that a Jew of the exile derived the history of Gen. xiv. from Babylonian sources is fraught with grave difficulties. A calculation of the chronological data in the Old Testament would not lead one to regard Abram as a contemporary of Khammurabi (Amraphel). It is unlikely also that the Babylonians of so late a date could have furnished the historical details that are found in this narrative. The names of the kings and of the regions over which they ruled are not conformed to Babylonian spelling, as must have been the case if they had been drawn directly from

Babylonian records, but show a wideness of variation that is explicable only as the result of a long independent transmission. All have been recast in a manner which suggests that the Hebrews derived them from the Canaanites rather than from the Babylonians. Accordingly, the rival theory of the preservation of an ancient Palestinian document in Gen. xiv. commends itself as on the whole more probable.

This theory is confirmed by several characteristics of the chapter. The names of tribes and of places belong to the most ancient period of Palestinian history. The inhabitants, even of the extreme South, are represented as Amorites (vv. 7, 13). This is in accord with the old Babylonian use of Amurru as the equivalent of Martu, or Syria-Palestine. It was not the situation at the time of the Hebrew conquest, and it is not the representation of later Old Testament documents. It was true only in the period shortly after the migration of the Amorites, before they had been crowded into the northern mountains by later waves of Semitic invasion. The Rephaim, who are mentioned in v. 5, are connected with the Anakim in Deut. ii. 11, and in Deut. i. 27 f. the Anakim are classified as Amorites. The Zuzim and the Emim, who appear in the same verse, are in Deut. ii. 11, 20 also identified with the Amorites. According to Deut. ii. 10, 20, the Emim were the aboriginal inhabitants of the land of Moab, and the Zamzummim, who presumably are the same as the Zuzim, were the aboriginal inhabitants of the land of Ammon. Sayce ingeniously suggests that the variation between Zuzim and Zamzummim can only have arisen through transliteration of a

cuneiform original. This is plausible; and if true, it establishes the antiquity of this people. The Horites, who in Gen. xiv. 6 are said to dwell in Mount Seir, are in Deut. ii. 12, 22 said to have been the predecessors of Edom in the same region.

The only objection to the historicity of these names is based upon their supposed meaning. Rephaim in Hebrew denotes "the dead, the shades;" Emim may plausibly be interpreted as "the terrible;" and Horim as the "cave-dwellers." From this it is inferred that these are only mythical names of forgotten races, whose tombs and caves the Hebrews found when they entered Palestine. This reasoning is as fallacious as it would be to infer from the fanciful Hebrew derivation of Babel (Babylon) from the root *balal*, "to confuse," that the city of Babylon never existed. Foreign names are always likely to be assimilated to familiar native words, and spurious etymologies of the Old Testament do not prove the original names to be unhistorical. No more does the assimilation of Amoritic tribal names to the Hebrew words for "shades" and for "cave-dwellers" prove that these names are mythical. Probably the Horites (Khorim) are identical with the Kharu of the Egyptian monuments. In that case the name has nothing to do with "cave-dwellers."

The Amalekites, who are mentioned in Gen. xiv. 7 are referred to in Ex. xvii. as the original inhabitants of the desert of Sinai. They were not regarded by the Hebrews as a kindred race, such as the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites; hence they must have belonged to an older stratum of population. That their presence in Palestine went back to

the Patriarchal age cannot be proved, but also cannot be disproved. Lot, Abram's "brother," as he is called in Gen. xiv. 12, is doubtless the same as Lotan, a clan which subsequently was incorporated into Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 2 ff.) ; and this is the same as Ruten (Luten), which occurs as the Egyptian name for part of Palestine as early as the XIIth dynasty. Thus it appears that nearly all the names of Gen. xiv. are attested by external evidences, and that no race is mentioned in this chapter which can be shown to belong to a late period. The Philistines and Hittites, for instance, who are referred to so frequently elsewhere in Genesis, but who entered Canaan at a late date, are here never once mentioned.

The names of places in Gen. xiv. are archaic, as is shown by the fact that they are explained by the editor. Thus after Bela he remarks, "the same is Zoar;" after En-mishpat, "the same is Kadesh;" after the Vale of Shaveh, "the same is the King's Vale." Damascus (verse 15) is not found in Babylonian monuments of this period; but if, as Sayce suggests, its ideogram *Gar-imiri-shu*, really means "Fortress of the Amorites," then its antiquity is assured. Whether Salem is the same as Jerusalem is not certain ; but even if this be the case, it creates no historical difficulty. It was long supposed on the basis of Jud. xix. 11, 1 Chron. xi. 5 that Jebus was the original name of this city, and that it was not called Jerusalem until after the Hebrew conquest; but since the discovery of the name Urusalim in the Amarna letters, which were written two centuries before the Hebrew conquest, this view has had to be abandoned.

Objections to the antiquity of the source from which Gen. xiv. is derived, based upon the supposed meaning of the names of the kings of the cities of the plain, the circuitous route followed by Chedorlaomer, the representation of Abram as a warrior, the coincidence between the number of his servants and the numerical value of the letters of the name Eliezer, the mention of Dan, the designation of the deity as El-Elyon, and the paying of tithes to Melchizedek, are not formidable.

The only serious difficulty in the way of regarding this passage as historical is the identification of its hero Abram by the documents of Genesis with Abraham, the assumed ancestor of the Hebrews and of a group of allied peoples. Although the Hebrews spoke the language of Canaan, they regarded themselves, not as kindred of the Canaanites and Amorites, but as Aramæans.[1] In the liturgy of Deut. xxvi. 5 the Israelite is instructed to say, "An Aramæan ready to perish was my father," and in Gen. xxv. 20, xxviii. 5 *et al.*, Bethuel and Laban, the Aramæans, are kinsmen of the Patriarchs. We know, however, from recent archæological discovery that the Aramæan migration did not occur as early as 2230 B.C., the date to which Abram must be assigned by his synchronism with Khammurabi. In the Assyrian monuments of the fifteenth century we can trace the first advance of the Aramæans from the Syrian desert into Babylonia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia.[2] In the Amarna letters (*c.* 1400) the Suti and the Khabiri, branches of this migration, are found to be threatening Syria and Pal-

[1] See p. 114. [2] See p. 113.

estine. That the Khabiri are the same as the Hebrews in the wider sense of the name, that is, that they are the group of peoples to which Israel, Moab, Ammon, and Edom belonged, there is no reason to doubt.[1] It appears, therefore, that the first emergence of Hebrews upon the stage of history was not earlier than 1500 B.C.

Even if we should assume that a single Aramæan tribe might have preceded the main migration into Syria-Palestine by eight centuries, it is inconceivable that such a tribe should have obtained a foothold in the midst of a land peopled by a different race. When the Hebrews under Moses and Joshua attempted to enter Canaan, they were met at every point with armed opposition. Is it likely that their forefathers should have received better treatment at the hands of the Amorites? Accordingly, with our present knowledge of the ancient Orient, it must be pronounced incredible that an ancestor of Aramæan Israel should have dwelt in Canaan as early as the time of Khammurabi (Amraphel).

Does not this prove, then, that the narrative of Abram's conflict with Chedorlaomer in Gen. xiv. is unhistorical? No, unless it can be established that the traditional identification of Abram with Abraham is correct. This identification has nothing in its favor;[2] the names Abram and Abraham have no etymological connection. Abram means "a father is exalted," or

[1] See p. 113.

[2] At the beginning of the first century a Jew was hanged, on a slight pretext, for scoffing at this change of names. See Philo, *De mutationem nominum*, viii. 1, 587. [Cr.]

"Ram is a father;" Abraham is formed with a root *raham*, which is unknown in Hebrew (Canaanitic), and whose meaning is uncertain. The hypothesis of the compiler of Genesis, that Abram's name was changed to Abraham, is manifestly only a device to escape this difficulty. The theory of Hommel that the form Abraham has arisen out of Abram through the use of the South Arabian Minæan script, in which a long *a* is represented by *h* has nothing in its favor. That the Minæan script was ever used in Palestine there is not a particle of evidence.

These two names must have belonged originally to distinct personages. Abraham was the collective name of a group of Aramæan peoples, including not only the Hebraic clans, but also the Ishmaelites and a number of other desert tribes.[1] Abram was a local hero of the region of Hebron. Since only a few of the tribes comprehended under the name Abraham ever invaded Palestine, the identification of the two names must have been due to mere similarity of sound. The difficulty that arose from this combination, that so few of the "sons" of Abraham dwelt in Canaan, was met by the explanation that "he sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, into the east country" (!).[2] In the earlier writings of the Old Testament Israel alone is mentioned as the ancestor of the nation; not until a time close to the exile does Abraham appear as the great forefather to whom the promise is given that his seed shall inherit the land of his sojournings.

Corresponding to the two names Abram and Abra-

[1] Gen. xxv. 1–18. [2] Gen. xxv. 6.

ham are the two places from which the patriarch is said to have migrated. According to J he went forth from Haran in Mesopotamia, but according to P (probably following E) he went forth from Ur of the Chaldees. Haran is the natural home of the Aramæan Abraham, while Ur may well have been the original residence of the Amoritic Abram; since, as we have seen, the Amorites invaded Babylonia as well as Syria and Palestine.[1]

The identification of Abram with Abraham is a counterpart to the identification of Jacob with Israel, Joseph with Ephraim and Manasseh, Esau with Edom, and Lot with Moab and Ammon that we meet in later portions of the Book of Genesis.

Both Jacob and Joseph appear as the names of places, or of tribes, in an inscription of Tahutimes III., an Egyptian king who lived 300 years before the exodus.[2] Y-ʿ-q-b-'a-ra is recognized by all recent historians as the phonetic equivalent of Yaʿaqob-el, "Jacob-god." Y-ša-p-'a-ra is probably Yoseph-el, "Joseph-god," although in this case the difference between *š* and *s* causes an element of uncertainty. This difference, however, as Müller shows,[3] is not a sufficient reason for rejecting the equation.

From these names it appears that, at the time when Israel is stated to have been in bondage in Egypt, Jacob and Joseph, their assumed ancestors, were al-

[1] See p. 28.

[2] Meyer, *Zeitschrift für altest. Wissenschaft*, vi. 8; Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 162; Groff, *Revue Egyptologique*, iv. 95, 146.

[3] *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, December 15, 1899, col. 396.

ready dwelling in the land of Canaan. When now we read that at Bethel or at Peniel Jacob's name was changed to Israel,[1] this can mean nothing else than that Israel took the place of Jacob, and that through the influence of the sanctuaries of Bethel and Peniel the two nationalities were fused into one.

When Ephraim and Manasseh are regarded as sons of Joseph, this means that these tribes conquered the region formerly owned by Joseph. Since in this case two tribes occupied the region previously held by one, it was impossible to say that Joseph's name was changed to Ephraim and Manasseh, and the genealogical association was the only one available. By this association the difficulty arose that Ephraim and Manasseh, who were already regarded as "sons" of Israel, became "sons" of Joseph; while Joseph was regarded as the son of Jacob, who was identified with Israel. This difficulty was met by the story told in Gen. xlviii., that Israel adopted the sons of Joseph, and placed them on the same footing as his own sons.

Esau was the name of an old Canaanitish deity and of his worshippers in the south of Palestine. Edom was the name of an invading race closely akin to Israel. Esau's name was changed to Edom because Edom conquered the territory once occupied by Esau. Lotan (Ruten), or Lot, was the old Egyptian name of the eastern portion of Palestine. Into this territory the Hebraic tribes Moab and Ammon migrated. They could not be identified with Lot; hence, as Ephraim and Manasseh had to become sons of Joseph, so Moab and Ammon had to become sons of Lot.

[1] Gen. xxxv. 10; xxxii. 28.

The only one of the Patriarchs who is not given a second name is Isaac; but he is connected with Beer-lahai-roi, a sanctuary outside of Canaan, or with Beer-sheba, a sanctuary in the extreme south. He represents the unity of Israel and Edom in the southern desert prior to their separation into two nations. This united people effected no permanent conquest in Canaan, and, therefore, its name could not be said to take the place of an earlier Canaanitic designation.

That a portion of Israel's patriarchal tradition should have been derived from the Canaanites, is precisely what the historical situation after the conquest would lead us to expect. The Canaanites constituted a large portion of the population, and it was only just that their heroes should figure as ancestors of the united nation alongside of the heroes of pure Hebrew origin, and that with the complete unification of the nation the two cycles of tradition should be blended into a single whole. Israel's story of creation, the flood, and the beginnings of history, its legislation, its religious rites, and its art, were all derived from the earlier inhabitants of the land;[1] it is only natural, therefore, to suppose that some at least of the stories of the Patriarchs came from the same source.

The recognition of a distinction between Abram and Abraham relieves the fundamental difficulty that has led so many modern critics to reject Gen. xiv. as unhistorical, in spite of the numerous evidences that it is based upon an ancient original. If Abram was not a lineal ancestor of Israel, but a worthy of ancient Canaan, then there is no reason why he might not

[1] See pp. 49 ff.

have come into conflict with the Elamitic king Chedorlaomer and with Khammurabi about 2230 B.C. Apart from a single word in v. 13, this chapter constantly suggests that Abram belongs to the Amorites. He dwells in the country of the Amorites (v. 7), and is confederate with Mamre the Amorite, the "brother" of Eschol and of Aner (v. 13); he recognizes also the authority of the Amoritic priest Melchizedek. Accordingly, when in v. 13 we read, "there came one that had escaped and told Abram *the Hebrew*," we must regard the last two words as a gloss designed to harmonize this chapter with the rest of Genesis.[1] Nowhere else is Abram called "the Hebrew," or is it suggested that he has anything to do with the Aramæan Israel that 1,000 years later invaded Palestine.

If these considerations be correct, we are justified in regarding Gen. xiv. as derived from a Canaanitish source, and as the earliest extant native document for the history of Palestine. According to it Palestine was inhabited by a number of independent tribes of the Amoritic race, which in language and in religion were closely allied to the Canaanites of a later age. The highest type of political organization was the city-state under the rule of a so-called "king." In the case of Melchizedek, as of the early kings of Babylonia, the priestly office was united with the royal. The stronger kings reduced the weaker ones to the position of vassals; but there was no attempt as yet to found nations with centralized governments. In

[1] A number of similar glosses have been noted above, p 38. Compare also the mention of Dan in v. 14 with Josh. xix. 47 and Jud. xviii. 29.

consequence of this lack of genius for organization the Amorites fell an easy prey to the Elamitic invaders.

Abram was the chieftain of a clan that formed part of the great Amoritic migration. At first he was settled in the neighbourhood of Ur in Babylonia, but later, presumably under pressure of the Elamitic invasion, he migrated to Palestine, where he found a welcome among kindred tribes. He made himself famous by his religious character, by his honorable dealings with his neighbours, and by his defeat of the Elamites. After his death he probably received divine honors at the sanctuary of Hebron. Here his cult lasted, and the story of his life was preserved until the time of the Hebrew conquest.

CHAPTER IV

THE RULE OF THE CITY OF BABYLON

2230–1700 B.C.

THE Elamitic supremacy in Babylonia and in the West did not long survive Abram's defeat of Chedorlaomer. We have an inscription of Khammurabi[1] which reads, "In the month Shabatu, on the 23d (22d) day, in the year when Khammurabi in the strength of Anu and Bel established his welfare, and the *adda* of Yamutbal and Eri-Aku his (*i.e.*, Khammurabi's) hand cast to the ground." The *adda* of Yamutbal is doubtless the same as Kudur-Mabuk, the *adda* of Emutbal and father of Eri-Aku, whom we have met already; and from this inscription it is clear that Khammurabi (Amraphel) succeeded in casting off the Elamitic yoke. This achievement was followed by the uniting of Babylonia under his rule. Babylon now became the capital of Western Asia, and for many centuries she did not lose this position. Even after Assyria had robbed her of political influence, she retained her religious supremacy. Like Rome of the Middle Ages, she remained a holy city, from which law and learning went forth; and the conqueror who laid claim to the dominion of the

[1] *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii. 1, p. 126.

world must still receive his crown from the hand of Bel, her chief god.

This lofty position she owed to the genius of Khammurabi. He conciliated the priesthoods of the local sanctuaries by rebuilding the temples that the Elamites had destroyed. He constructed canals to drain swamps and to bring water. He carried on so many successful wars with the surrounding nations that in one of his inscriptions he speaks of himself as "the mighty warrior who hews down his foes, the whirlwind of battle that overthrows the land of the enemies, who brings conflict to rest, who brings rebellion to an end, who destroys warriors like an image of clay, who overcomes the obstacles of impassable mountains." That this conqueror gained control of Syria and Palestine also is proved by an inscription in which his sole title is "king of Martu."[1]

Ammisatana, the great-grandson of Khammurabi, styles himself "king of the vast land of Martu." Here there can be no doubt that Martu refers to Syria-Palestine. He is the only king of the first dynasty of Babylon besides Khammurabi who is expressly said to have ruled over the West, but it is probable that all the other kings maintained the traditional limits of the empire.

The second dynasty of Babylon (2056–1688) is known to us only from the *List of Kings*. Judging from the length of the reigns, it must have enjoyed a period of remarkable peace. That it continued the rule of its predecessors in Syria and Palestine is

[1] Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i., p. 146 ; King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi*, i., No. 66.

probable, although it is not attested by any ancient records.

The long-continued supremacy of Babylon left many traces in the language and in the civilization of the West. A number of places mentioned in inscriptions of the XVIIIth and XIXth Egyptian dynasties, in the Amarna letters, and even in the Old Testament bear names of pure Babylonian formation; *e.g.*, Bit-sha-ilu,[1] Bit-Ninib, Ashtarti,[2] Ashtaroth, Ashtaroth-Karnaim, Nebo,[3] possibly also Uru-Salim (Jerusalem).[4]

Here belong also the names of places compounded with names of distinctively Babylonian deities, such as Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, Nebo, Dagan. The language of Canaan is full of words borrowed from Babylonia; *e.g.*, *hekal* "temple," *nabi* "prophet," *qorban*, and other technical terms of the ritual.

In the year 1888 there were discovered at Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt several hundred inscribed clay tablets. These proved to be chiefly letters from Syrian and Palestinian "kings" to the Egyptian monarchs Amenhotep III. and Amenhotep IV. (*c.* 1400). If these letters had been written in Egyptian, it would not have been remarkable, since Syria and Palestine stood at this time under the rule of the Pharaohs; instead of this, however, they were written in Babylonian. This was not the spoken language of Syria, as is shown by numerous mistakes and substitutions of Canaanitic words. Babylon was then under the rule of a foreign dynasty, and had lost much of its ancient prestige; it is inconceivable,

[1] Inscription of Sety I. [2] Amarna Letters.
[3] Old Testament. [4] Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 73.

therefore, that during this period it should have invaded Egyptian territory with its language and its literature. The use of Babylonian in these letters is explicable only as a survival of an earlier state of affairs, when Egyptian influence in Palestine counted for nothing, and when Babylonian influence was supreme. This situation existed in the second half of the third millennium, when Khammurabi and his successors carried their arms and their commerce to the shores of the Mediterranean.

The correctness of this conclusion is confirmed by a study of the development of syllabic orthography in Egypt. As far back as the XIth dynasty (*c.* 2050) the Egyptians adopted a new method of writing proper names, particularly foreign names. Instead of using signs for the consonants only, as was the case in the ordinary script, they began to employ signs for syllables composed of consonants with the vowels *a*, *e*, and *u*. This system is not Egyptian, but can have been developed only through contact with the Babylonian method. This favours the hypothesis that during the earliest period known to history the cuneiform script was in use in Canaan.[1]

The early religions of Syria and Palestine also bear witness to Babylonian influence. It is not too much to say that all elements of these religions which differ from the common Semitic type are borrowed from Babylonia. The worship of Sin, the Babylonian moon-god, is attested by the names Sinai[2] and the

[1] See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 58 *sq*.

[2] Others connect with *sené*, "thorn bush," *e.g.*, Duff, *Theology and Ethics* (this series). [Cr.]

desert of Sin which we meet so frequently in the Old Testament. The worship of Shamash, the Babylonian sun-god, is seen in the name Beth-Shemesh. The name Ramman appears in Rimmon-parez, En-Rimmon, Gath-Rimmon, and Hadad-Rimmon. When Shalmaneser II. (858) captured Aleppo, he did not treat the Ramman who was worshipped there as a foreign deity, but sacrificed to him as identical with the ancient Ramman of Babylonia and Assyria. Ashtart (Ashtoreth, Astarte) of Canaan has the closest affinity with the goddess Ishtar of Babylonia. If this deity had been brought into Palestine by the Canaanites, it would probably have been masculine, as among the closely related South Arabians. Ashtart has the same attributes as Ishtar, and the same curious use prevails in Canaanitic as in Babylonian of employing the plural Ashtaroth (Ishtarate) as a general designation for "goddesses." The antiquity of her cult is shown by the proper names A-sh-ti-ra-tu in the annals of Tahutimes III., Ashtarti in the Amarna letters, and Ashtaroth in the Old Testament. Dagon was long supposed to be a god peculiar to the Philistines; but in view of the facts that there was a Beth-Dagon within the territory of Judah, and that one of the Palestinian princes, who in the Amarna letters ask help of Pharaoh against the Khabiri and Suti, is called Dagan-takala, it now seems certain that Dagon is none other than the Babylonian god Dagan, whose worship was inherited by the Canaanites from the earlier inhabitants and from them was passed on to the Philistines. The primitive worship of the Babylonian god Ninib is attested by the name Bit-Ninib

in the Amarna letters; and of the god Nabu, by the Old Testament name Nebo. It has even been suggested that *lehem* in Beth-lehem is the phonetic equivalent of the Babylonian god Lahmu. In this connection it should be noted how completely the Canaanitic custom of designating deities by the indefinite title Ba'al corresponds to the Babylonian use of Bel.

The sacred traditions of the origin of the world and of the beginnings of civilization that were handed down in Syria and Palestine were the same as those that were current in Babylonia. In the case of the Hebrews the identity has long been noted. The account of creation in the first chapter of Genesis is clearly an improved and expurgated edition of the Babylonian creation-tablets. The Sabbath is an evolution of the Babylonian Shabattum, which was observed on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the lunar month and was closely associated with moon-worship. The story of the garden of Eden shows its Babylonian origin at once by the fact that Paradise is located on the Tigris and the Euphrates. The name Eden itself is probably Edinu, the plain between these two great rivers. The order of creation as described in Genesis ii. corresponds to the so-called Sumerian creation-tablet,[1] and the tree of life and the cherubim are probably also Babylonian conceptions. The long-lived antediluvians are the analogue of the ten Babylonian kings before the flood, and one of them, Methushael, bears a name of pure Babylonian formation. The Hebrew flood-story is the almost exact counterpart

[1] *Records of the Past, New Series*, vi. 109 ff.

of Ut-napishtim's narrative in the eleventh tablet of the Babylonian Gilgamesh epic. The tower of Babel and the connected story of the dispersion of the nations betray their origin by their localization in Shinar and the vicinity of Babylon.[1] Even the story of the birth and the exposure of Moses is a counterpart to the legend of Sargon I., king of Agade.

That these Hebrew traditions have been borrowed from Babylonian originals is now admitted by everyone; the only controversy is as to the time and the manner of the borrowing. It has frequently been conjectured that they were adopted during the period of the Assyrian supremacy, or even during the exile. It is unlikely, however, that the monotheistic later Hebrews would adopt the myths of their heathen conquerors, and the legends have not the close correspondence with the Babylonian originals that they must have presented, if they had been borrowed at a late date. The Phœnicians and other races of Syria and Palestine besides the Hebrews show Babylonian influence in their mythology. These peoples did not stand under such direct Assyrian influence as did Israel and they were not carried into exile; we are obliged, therefore, to look for some other time when they also could have been influenced by Babylonian thought.

Among the tablets of Tell-el-Amarna there were

[1] See Driver in Hogarth, *Authority and Archæology*, pp. 9–26; Davis, *Genesis and Semitic Tradition*; Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos in Urzeit u. Endzeit*; Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. vi. 1, *Mythen u. Epen*; Muss-Arnolt in *Biblical World*, Jan. and Feb. 1894, and *Hebraica*, ix.; Zimmern, *Biblische u. babylonische Urgeschichte*.

found fragments of two Babylonian legends, similar to those that have been preserved in the Old Testament, which were used as reading exercises by the Egyptian scribes.[1] The discovery of these legends is witness to the wide spread of Babylonian mythology in Syria and Palestine in the age preceding the Egyptian conquest, and makes it probable that the traces of Babylonian thought in all the Palestinian cosmogonies date from the early period when Syria used the language of Babylon and was influenced by its civilization. The primeval traditions, accordingly, that are preserved in the Book of Genesis must have been derived by the Hebrews from the civilized Canaanites among whom they came, and these in their turn must have derived them from the earlier population that they dispossessed.

The religious institutions of Israel show no less clearly the marks of Babylonian influence. The orders of the priests, with the conditions as to blemishes and ceremonial purity imposed upon them, the use of Urim and Thummim and of other forms of divination, the kinds of sacrifice that were offered and the technical names that were applied to them, the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, and a multitude of other details of the ritual, are identical with Babylonian institutions.[2] These institutions were shared by the Hebrews with other Palestinian nations, and all go back to a time when Canaan and Babylonia were one in civilization. The same is

[1] See Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi. 1, pp. 74 ff., 92 ff.

[2] See Haupt, "Babylonian Elements in the Levitical Ritual," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1900, pp. 55 ff.

true of those licentious rites that flourished among the Canaanites and that prophets and lawgivers sought to banish from Israel. The maintenance of *qedeshoth*, or "harlots," in the temples of Ashtart was also a distinctly Babylonian custom.

The art of Syria and Palestine is also of Babylonian origin. The prehistoric mounds of brick-work that have been found in various parts of the country[1] are comparable only with the *ziqqurrate* of Chaldea. The Palestinian temple, as it is depicted on coins and monuments, and as it is described in the case of Solomon's temple, imitated Babylonian models. Sculpture, pottery, and textile fabrics were equally Babylonian in their original design, although in course of time they tended to develop along independent lines. Even the earliest known dress of the inhabitants of Syria followed Babylonian fashion. The Asiatics depicted on the tomb of Khnum-hotep (*c.* 1900) at Beni Hassan[2] are clothed in the exact costume depicted on the ancient Babylonian monuments. Even the peculiar flounced skirt of the old Babylonian gods and priests, the Greek *kaunakes*, reappears in Egyptian representations of Syrian dress.

Contemporaneous with the IId dynasty of Babylon were the XIth and XIIth dynasties of Egypt, the "middle empire." The capital of these kings was Thebes, and they represent a native reaction against the Amoritic invaders who had overthrown the old Memphite empire. We can trace the gradual extension of their power northward until at last it included all Egypt.

[1] Nowack, *Archäologie*, p. 93.

[2] See page 62.

Like the old empire, the middle empire was a period of internal development rather than of external expansion. The Egyptians had too much respect for the Amorites, whose warlike prowess they had but lately experienced, to think of invading Asia. They contented themselves with strengthening the border fortresses and repelling invasions, without undertaking wars of reprisal. The Sinaitic mines were re-opened by Amenemhat I., and various officials of the XIIth dynasty relate their encounters with the Bedawin of that neighbourhood. Amenemhat I. records that he "smote the negroes and opened up the land of the 'Amu," but this seems to refer to nothing more important than expeditions to the Sinaitic Peninsula. One official of the middle empire states: "I satisfied the heart of the king in composing the lists. . . . I counted the presents of the chiefs out of all lands, in silver, gold, *Bq*-balsam, incense, wine. . . ." These are evidently Syrian products, but they seem to have been presents sent to the Pharaoh rather than tribute or spoil of war. There is no evidence that any portion of Palestine was under permanent Egyptian rule during this period.[1]

Although no conquests were attempted, intercourse with Syria must have been frequent. In the *Sallier Papyrus*, where the profession of the scribe is praised as superior to all other occupations, we read: "The courier goes forth into a foreign land; his property he makes over to his children, since he is afraid of lions and of 'Amu (Asiatics). What does he have when he is in Egypt? If he comes to his arbour,

[1] Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 34 f.

or draws near to his house at evening, he is condemned to depart. He sets out, brick in his bosom. If he comes home, his heart swells with happy thoughts." The existence of couriers who can be compared with the professional caste of the scribes shows that the exchange of diplomatic messages between Egypt and the countries of Asia must have been frequent at least as early as 1900 B.C. In the mention of "brick in the bosom" W. M. Müller[1] sees a reference to the heavy clay tablets inscribed with despatches that the courier carried with him. If this interpretation be correct, it proves the use of Babylonian as the language of diplomacy in Western Asia 500 years before the period of the Amarna letters.

Semitic names of imported articles begin to be common in Egypt from the time of the XIth dynasty onward. The *Sallier Papyrus* compares the scribe not only with the courier, but also with the merchant. "The weapon-maker," it says, "goes forth into the foreign land, much he loads upon his asses." The dangers that beset the merchant with his valuable wares were probably even greater than those that threatened the courier; still, Palestine must have been in a fairly settled condition, and there must have been some responsible government, or such trade could not have been attempted. Both in diplomacy and in commerce we see the salutary influence of the Babylonian supremacy upon the petty states of Western Asia.

An interesting picture of Palestine in the time of king Usertesen I. (*c.* 1966) is found in the *Romance of Sinuhit*, one of the earliest pieces of Egyptian litera-

[1] *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, January, 1901, p. 8.

ture that has come down to us. Sinuhit was apparently a son of Amenemhat I., and when his father died he was compelled to flee for his life. He escaped as far as the "Wall of the Princes" that guarded the northeastern frontier. Here he crouched in the bushes until dusk, and then succeeded in slipping past the watchmen. He pressed on all night, and at daybreak found himself in the land of Peten beside the Bitter Lakes, which must then have formed a part of the Red Sea. Here he came near dying of thirst, but was saved by a Bedawi herdsman, who gave him water and milk and brought him to his fellow-tribesmen. These people are called *sti*, that is, "archers," and they are characterized as "sand-wanderers." They were evidently a nomadic tribe of the Sinaitic desert. By them Sinuhit was passed on to the next tribe, and so from one tribe to another until he reached the land of Qedem, "the East." This is a well-known region east of the Dead Sea, whose inhabitants were called in the Old Testament Bene-Qedem, or "Children of the East." Here Sinuhit felt safe and remained a year and a half, until Ammianshi, king of Upper Tenu, heard of his valour from other Egyptian refugees, of whom he seems to have had a number at his court, and invited him to come and enjoy his hospitality and hear the latest news from Egypt.

Ammianshi has been referred to already as a name of the Amoritic type that during this period we meet in all parts of Western Asia. Tenu is regarded by Hommel[1] and by Jensen[2] as the same as Tidum or

[1] *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 50.

[2] *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, x., p. 335 f.

Tidanum that we meet in the old Babylonian monuments as the name of Anti-Lebanon. Müller[1] holds that "Upper Tenu" is only an abbreviation for Upper Rutenu, or Palestine and Southern Syria. Ruten is the same as the Biblical Lotan, Lot, which Gen. xiv. calls "the brother of Abram."

Ammianshi showed Sinuhit distinguished courtesy. The narrative of his favour is thus translated by Erman:[2]

"He placed me at the head of his children, and married me to his eldest daughter. He let me choose from amongst his lands, from amongst his choicest possessions on the frontier of another country. This was the beautiful country of 'Eaa; figs and vines grew there, there were many sorts of wine and it was rich in honey, its olive trees were plentiful, and all kinds of fruit grew on its trees. There was corn there, and barley, and herds without number. And there was yet more that happened to me from love to me (?), for he made me prince of a tribe of his country. Then I had as much bread as I wanted, and wine for every day, boiled meat and roast goose, irrespective of the game of the country that I caught and carried off as spoil, and irrespective of what my greyhounds brought me. . . . Thus I spent many years, and my children became heroes, each the protector of his adopted tribe. The messenger who came from the court or went thither stayed with me, I gave hospitality to every one, and I gave water to the thirsty. . . . I subdued each people against whom I marched, I drove them from their pastures and from their wells, I captured their cattle and carried off their children; I robbed them of their food; I killed their people with my sword, with my bow, with my marches, with

[1] *Asien und Europa*, p. 47.

[2] *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 370; see also Goodwin, *Records of the Past*, vi., p. 131; Maspero, *Records of the Past*, *New Series*, ii., p. 11.

my wise designs. . . . A hero of Tenu came and challenged (?) me in my tent. He was a daring man (?), he had no equal, he had subdued everybody. He said: 'Let him fight with me'; he thought (?) he would slay me, he imagined he would carry off my cattle. . . . I shot at him, and my weapon stuck in his neck; he cried out, he fell on his nose. All the Beduins cried out. Then I took away his possessions, I carried off his cattle: what he thought to have done to me, that did I to him."

As Sinuhit grew old, he wearied of life in Tenu and longed to return to his native land. After much diplomatic negotiation, he at last received pardon, and a royal messenger was sent to escort him. He gave his property over to his children and went back to Egypt, where he was received with every mark of favour. He enjoyed the luxury of a civilized toilet, and cleansed himself from the vermin of Syria. He exchanged his coarse garments for fine robes, was anointed with precious ointments, and reposed on a beautiful couch. A new house and a tomb were built for him, and he continued to live happily in Egypt until his death.

This story is only a romance; still it gives a correct picture of Palestine 2,000 years B.C. It was a fruitful and prosperous country, well stocked with game of every sort. The Amorites cultivated the soil, but they had not forgotten the warlike virtues of their nomadic ancestors. Sinuhit's lot in Tenu would have been enviable, if only he had been able to overcome his homesickness.

A considerable portion of the troops of the middle empire were Asiatic mercenaries. They are distinguished among the figures on the tombs of Beni Hassan

by their Semitic cast of features, their pointed beards, and also by the red hair and blue eyes with which the Egyptians so frequently depicted Syrians.[1] Their hair is allowed to hang down as far as the nape of the neck, and is cut off abruptly at the bottom. They wear only loin-cloths of striped material woven in the Babylonian style. They are armed with huge boomerangs, which probably served also as clubs, with Egyptian battle-axes, with spears, and rarely also with slings. The absence of the bow is a striking peculiarity. These soldiers are never represented on the monuments in comical attitudes, as are the negro troops, and this shows what formidable warriors they were esteemed by the Egyptians. They may have been survivors of the Amoritic migration into Egypt, or they may have been recruits gathered among the Bedawin of the Sinaitic Peninsula. In either case, they present us with the features and the armament of the race that 2,000 years B.C. controlled the destinies of Western Asia.

Asiatic slaves were common in Egypt at the time of the XIIth dynasty. Gardeners, shepherds, carpenters, etc., with Semitic features and dress, are depicted in the retinues of the Theban princes. So common were Palestinian handmaids that "female Asiatic" is used as a synonym for "concubine." Syrian maidens apparently were more highly esteemed than any other in the harems of the Egyptian nobility.

Not only did Egyptian merchants visit Syria, but Syrian merchants also made their way into Egypt. On the tomb of Khnumhotep of the time of Usertesen

[1] See p. 4.

II. (*c.* 1900), there is a famous fresco, which was long supposed to represent the arrival of the children of Israel in Egypt, but which is now regarded as a caravan of Syrian merchants. Neferhotep, the scribe, precedes the party, bearing in his hand an inscription stating that these are thirty-seven 'Amu (Asiatics) who bring stibium, the modern *kohl*, or "eye-paint." He is followed by Khiti, the chief huntsman, who presents the foreigners to Prince Khumhotep. Then comes the head man of the caravan, leading an ibex by a cord, and holding in his hand a boomerang or a staff of office. In front of him is written "Abishua, a chief of the desert." He is followed by a man leading an ibex, and by four warriors armed with spear, bow, and boomerang. Next comes an ass bearing two children seated on top of a bale of coloured goods, perhaps rugs. It is driven by a small boy with a long spear; and is followed by four women; an ass laden with baggage and weapons; a man with a lyre; and a warrior with a bow, quiver, and boomerang. All these people show an unmistakably Semitic cast of features. The men have flowing, bushy hair cut off at the nape of the neck, and pointed beards, like the Semitic mercenaries referred to above. The women wear their hair loose over their shoulders, with a lock hanging down on either side of the face, and a fillet tied about the forehead. All are clothed in tunics of rich stuffs woven in ornamental stripes. The right shoulder is left bare. They are evidently no ordinary Bedawin of the desert, but are prosperous merchants, who carry their families about with them on their journeys, and who are able to clothe them in an elegant manner.

CHAPTER V

THE CANAANITIC MIGRATION

1700–1553 B.C.

About 1700 B.C. the Kashshu or Kassites appeared in Babylonia. They came apparently from the steppes of Central Asia, and were akin to the Turks and the Tartars of a later period. After overrunning Media and Elam they broke into Babylonia, and Gandash, their leader, became the founder of the third, or Kassite dynasty, which from 1688–1113 B.C. maintained itself upon the throne of Babylon. At first these invaders wasted the country with fire and sword, and carried away its treasures to their mountain fastnesses, or to strongholds that they had constructed in the marshes of South Babylonia. Marduk, the chief god of Babylon, they removed to Khani, a region of Western Media, in token that the supremacy of Babylon had come to an end. Gradually, however, they fell under the spell of the ancient civilization; and, like all the invaders that had gone before them, adopted the language and the customs of the land and were soon indistinguishable from the old Babylonian population. Karaindash, the sixth king of the dynasty, placed the title "king of Kashshu" after the title "king of Babylon," and his successors

dropped it altogether. Agum-kak-rime, the seventh king, brought back the image of Marduk from Khani and restored it in splendour to its original temple. From this time onward there was little except their names to distinguish these rulers from the old native kings.

Contemporaneous with the Kassite invasion of Babylonia was the entrance of a new race into Mesopotamia. Up to this time, apparently, that region had belonged exclusively to the Semites ; but now a population of a totally different sort began to push in from Asia Minor. In the region between the upper waters of the Euphrates and its tributary the Balikh it established a kingdom, which in its own inscriptions, as well as in the Babylonian and Egyptian records, is known as Mitanni. In the succeeding century this kingdom was strong enough to rank with Babylon, Egypt, and Assyria as one of the four great powers. One of the Amarna letters is written in the language of this country ; and, thanks to the investigations of Jensen,[1] Sayce,[2] Brünnow,[3] and Messerschmidt,[4] considerable progress has been made in deciphering it ; its linguistic affiliations, however, still remain uncertain.

These great migrations could not fail to produce momentous changes in the political history of Western Asia. Before the Kassites had become amalga-

[1] *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, v. 166 ff. ; vi. 34 ff. ; xiv. 73 ff.

[2] *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, v. 260 ; *Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Archæology*, 1900, p. 171.

[3] *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, v. 209 ff.

[4] *Mitteil d. vorderas. Gesellschaft*, 1899, 4.

mated with the older population of Babylonia the people of Mitanni had established themselves so firmly that it was impossible to dislodge them. They barred the road which followed the Euphrates into Northern Syria. The route through the Syrian desert was not practicable on account of lack of water and danger from marauding Bedawin. Babylon, consequently, was cut off from her ancient trade with the West; and with the loss of her commercial prosperity, sank to the position of a second-class power. Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, which she had dominated for two thousand years, passed out of her grasp, never to return again, except for a brief period a thousand years later under the rule of Nebuchadrezzar II.

The blocking of the overland route between the Far East, India, and the West by the migration of the people of Mitanni compelled trade to take the longer and more difficult course through the Red Sea. The Minæan kingdom, whose magnificent remains Halévy and Glaser have discovered in South Arabia,[1] must have flourished about the middle of the second millennium. Its rise is a striking evidence of the changed political situation in Western Asia. The prosperity of Egypt under the XVIIIth and the XIXth dynasties and its new policy of foreign conquest were due to the same cause.

A still more important consequence of the decline of Babylonia was the rise of the Assyrian Empire.

[1] Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte u. Geographie Arabiens;* Hommel, in Hilprecht, *Recent Research*, pp. 131 ff.; Glaser, *Mitteil. d. vorderas. Gesellschaft*, 1899, 2.

Tiglath-pileser I., who reigned about 1000 B.C., mentions the *patesi*, or "viceroy," Shamshi-Ramman, son of Ishmi-Dagan, *patesi* of Ashshur, who lived 700 years before his time, *i.e.*, about 1700 B.C. Ashur-bel-nishe-shu, the contemporary of Karaindash, the eighth king of the Kassite dynasty, according to the document known as the *Synchronous History*,[1] is the first *patesi* who is known to have assumed the title "king of Assyria." From this time onward for five hundred years there was strife for the supremacy between Assyria and Babylon, ending at last in the victory of Assyria.

Contemporaneous with these great political changes in Asia was the rule of the Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings" in Egypt.

If, as all our authorities agree, the Hyksos were Asiatics, they must have conquered Palestine before they entered Egypt. This theory is confirmed by the remarkable statement of Num. xiii. 22 that Hebron in Palestine was built seven years before Zoan (Tanis) in Egypt. Tanis was the favourite residence of the Hyksos kings, and a monument of the time of Ramessu II. found there is dated "in the four hundredth year of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Set-aa-pehti," which seems to show the existence of a Hyksos era beginning with the foundation of Tanis.[2]

Further evidence of the conquest of Palestine by the Hyksos is found in the location of their strong-

[1] *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i., p. 194.

[2] Meyer, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 9, 210; Petrie, *History*, i., p. 244.

hold Auaris. Instead of being placed near the centre of Egypt, it was located on the eastern frontier, which indicates that the king had to maintain order in Asia as well as in Africa.[1] When the Hyksos were driven out, they fell back upon Sharuhen in Southern Canaan. A papyrus written about twenty years after their expulsion, and based on older sources, contains the recipe of an oculist of Gebal, which, as Müller has shown,[2] is based upon a cuneiform original and therefore is genuine. It proves that intimate relations must have existed between Palestine and Egypt during the Hyksos period.

In regard to the origin of the Hyksos the monuments give us no exact information. They are called 'Amu, or "Asiatics," foreigners, and plague; but these names throw no light upon their ethnological affiliations. Once they are called Mentiu, a name which is applied to the Bedawin of the Sinaitic Peninsula. The weight of recent evidence is in favour of their having been a wave of Semitic migration similar to those whose invasions of Western Asia and of Egypt we have already studied. For this migration the most appropriate name is Canaanitic.

In Babylonian inscriptions of the time of Khammurabi 'Amurru is the name for the whole of Syria and Palestine, and in Gen. xiv. the Amorites are said to occupy the land even to the extreme south, but in Egyptian monuments of the XIIth dynasty, as well as in the Amarna letters, the name 'Amor is limited to that portion of Syria which lies about Qadesh in the

[1] Müller, *Mitteil. d. vorderas. Gesell.*, 1898, 3, p. 22.

[2] *Festschrift für Ebers*, p. 77.

valley of the Orontes east of Mount Lebanon. Palestine, particularly the coast region, is known as Ka-n-'-na, *i.e.*, Canaan. In the Old Testament also the Amorites are represented as in possession of only a small portion of the land at the time of the Hebrew invasion, and the ordinary name for the aborigines is Canaanites. This is the regular usage of the Pentateuchal document J, which in all probability was written in the land of Judah. Only in North Israelitish writings, such as the Pentateuchal document E and the Prophet Amos, are the Amorites mentioned.[1] These facts show that in the interval between the Babylonian rule in Syria-Palestine and the Egyptian conquest a change had taken place in the population of this region. The old Amorite inhabitants had been crowded northward into the mountains of Central Syria, while the Canaanites had taken possession of Palestine and the entire coast region. The appearance of this new race it is impossible not to combine with the advent of the Hyksos in Egypt and with their withdrawal into Palestine after their defeat.

The meaning of the name Canaan is uncertain. It has commonly been supposed to denote "lowland" and to stand in contrast to 'Amor, "highland;" but this is very doubtful.[2] The root *can'* means "to be humbled," not "to be low," and, in view of the use of 'Amurru in Babylonian as a racial name, it is improbable that 'Amor has anything to do with "high-

[1] Meyer, *Zeitschr. f. alttest. Wissenschaft*, i. 139.

[2] See Moore, *Proceedings Am. Oriental Society*, 1890, pp. lxvii.-lxx.

land." Neither in Egyptian sources nor in the Old Testament is the name Canaan limited to the low plain along the coast. It is possible that the Hebrews, or even the Canaanites before them, accepted the etymologies "lowland" and "highland" for Canaan and 'Amor; but it does not follow from this that these were the primitive meanings of the words. Canaan is probably originally a racial rather than a geographical name.

The relation of the Hyksos-Canaanites to the Amorites is a disputed question. Certain passages of the Old Testament distinguish between them. Deut. iii. 9, for instance, informs us that the Sidonians, *i.e.*, the Phœnician Canaanites, called Mount Hermon "Sirion," while the Amorites called it "Senir," pointing thus to dialectic differences between the languages of the two peoples. In other passages Amorite and Canaanite are used interchangeably, and in Gen. x. 16 the Amorite is classified as a "son" of Canaan. Evidence is abundant that the language of the Hyksos-Canaanites did not differ materially from that of the Amorites. In Isa. xix. 18 Hebrew is called "the language of Canaan," and the monuments show that Phœnician, Moabite, and other Canaanitic dialects differed from the language of Israel only in trifling details. In the cuneiform Amarna letters numerous Hebraisms have been detected, which prove that about 1400 B.C. Hebrew was spoken in Palestine. But we have seen already that in the time of the first dynasty of Babylon, *i.e.*, during the period of the great Amoritic migration, proper names of a pure Hebraic type appear simultaneously in Babylonia,

Egypt, and Canaan. This shows that the language of the Amorites cannot have differed widely from that of the Hyksos-Canaanites.

I conclude, accordingly, that the Hyksos-Canaanites are to be regarded as one of the later waves of the Amoritic invasion rather than as an independent migration, such as the Babylonian, the Aramæan, or the Arabian, all of which are distinguished by marked linguistic peculiarities. Presumably they were Amoritic tribes of Mesopotamia who were dislodged by the advancing hordes of the Kassites and Mitanni and were compelled to seek new homes. In Mesopotamia they had come under the influence of Babylonian civilization; and when they entered Canaan, they amalgamated with the kindred Amoritic population and maintained its civilization unchanged. The common opinion that the Hyksos were barbarians rests upon no good evidence. On the contrary, their kings patronized art and literature, and a more extended commerce sprang up under their rule than had existed at any previous period of Egyptian history. Neither in Egypt nor in Palestine is there any sign of an overturning of civilization. As the Amarna letters show, Babylonian literature, art, and mythology continued to hold their own after the invasion.

After a rule of a hundred years the power of the Hyksos began to decline. The princes of Thebes regained strength and slowly pushed their conquests northward. Seqenenra III. of the XVIIth dynasty (*c.* 1593) was the king under whom the decisive struggle with the Hyksos began. The *Romance of Apepa*

and Seqenenra[1] is generally supposed to rest upon a historical basis. It relates that Apepa was king in Auaris; and that, desiring to pick a quarrel with Seqenenra, he sent messengers, demanding that he should worship Sutech. At this the prince of Thebes and his people were in great perplexity. Here the papyrus breaks off. It seems clear that it went on to say how war was declared between the two rulers. The mummy of Seqenenra was part of the find made in 1881 at Deir el Bahri. Its condition shows that he met his death in battle, and the presumption is that he fell in conflict with the Hyksos.

Aahhotep, the queen of Seqenenra, had by him a daughter, Nefertari; and, by a former husband presumably, a son, Aahmes. Aahmes married Nefertari, and thus became the founder of the famous XVIIIth dynasty. Under his reign the expulsion of the Hyksos took place, and Egypt began a career of conquest in Palestine and Syria which lasted for over three centuries.

The only contemporary record of Aahmes's defeat of the Hyksos is found in the biography of his namesake, the admiral Aahmes, which he inscribed on the walls of his tomb at El-Kab.[2] This reads as follows:

"The commander of the sailors, Aahmes, son of the late Abana, speaks. I speak, all men, to you; I inform you of the honours that have been bestowed upon me. Seven times have I been presented with the 'gold of bravery' in the presence

[1] *Sallier Papyrus*, ii. 1; Petrie, *History*, ii. 17; Maspero, *Records of the Past*, *New Series*, ii., p. 37.

[2] Renouf, *Records of the Past*, vi., p. 5; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, ii., pp. 21 ff.; Wiedemann, *Gesch. von Alt-Aegypten*, pp. 72 ff.

of the whole land. Slaves male and female I have acquired, with all that belonged to them. Many estates have I gathered. My name, which is rendered famous by that which he (I) did, shall never be forgotten in this land.

"I was born in the city of Nekheb (El-Kab). My father was an officer of the late king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seqenenra; Baba, son of Reant, was his name. I became commander in his place of the ship 'Bullock,' in the reign of his late Majesty, Aahmes, lord of both lands. I was a lad then; I was not married; and I slept in a youth's garments. By the time that I had a household I was promoted to the ship 'North' on account of my valour. It was my duty to follow the sovereign (life, blessings, and health be upon him!) on foot whenever he went out in his chariot.

"When he encamped before the city of Hatuart (Auaris), I fought bravely before His Majesty. For this I was promoted to the ship 'Gleaming-in-Memphis.' We fought on a canal alongside of Auaris; I captured booty, and carried off a hand. This was reported to the king, and I received the 'gold of bravery.' There was fighting again in the same place, and a second time I captured booty and brought away a hand. For this I received a second time the 'gold of bravery.' Afterwards there was fighting at Tekemet, south of this city, and I took captive a living prisoner. I fell into the water, but nevertheless I brought him forcibly upon the road leading back to the fortress, and passed with him through the water. This was reported to the king, and I received the 'gold' again. We captured Auaris, and I took there one male and three female prisoners, in all four prisoners. His Majesty gave them to me as slaves.

"We besieged Sharhana (Sharuhen) for five years, and His Majesty captured it. I took as spoil two women and a hand. The king bestowed upon me the 'gold of bravery,' and the captives were presented me as slaves."

From this it appears that, after their expulsion from Auaris, the Hyksos fell back upon Palestine,

and made Sharuhen, in the region later occupied by the tribe of Simeon,[1] their headquarters; that Aahmes followed them, and inflicted so great a defeat that all hope of again invading Egypt was taken away from them.

At the quarries of Turah, near Cairo, there is a relief set up by Aahmes representing the dragging of stone in sledges. The accompanying inscription states that the bearded workmen who drive the oxen are Fenkhu. On account of similarity of sound this name has often been identified with "Phœnician;" but the investigations of Müller,[2] which are followed by Maspero,[3] show rather that this is a general name for "enemies" or "aliens." These Fenkhu are in all probability Hyksos prisoners.

Aahmes made no attempt to establish permanent Egyptian rule in Palestine, but he put the conquered tribes under tribute. In the reign of his grandson, Tahutimes I., the Canaanites are called "rebels," which implies that they had thrown off some sort of allegiance.

The expelled Hyksos joined forces with their kinsmen who had already occupied the cities of Palestine and of the Syrian coast; and, mingling with the older strata of population, formed the race that the Old Testament designates as "Canaanites." A few traces of their sojourn in Egypt are found in the art and in the religious institutions of Palestine, but their stay was too brief to make a deep impression. Canaan after their arrival remained the same that it had been before.

[1] Josh. xix. 6. [2] *Asien und Europa*, pp. 208 ff.
[3] *History*, ii., p. 93 f.

CHAPTER VI

THE EGYPTIAN SUPREMACY

1553–1392 B.C.

Aahmes's Syrian campaign marks the beginning of a new era both in Egyptian and in Palestinian history. A hundred years' struggle for freedom had trained the Egyptians in war, and had overcome their dread of Asiatics. They had learned to use horses and chariots, and had thus greatly increased the efficiency of their army. Safety demanded that the power of the Hyksos should be broken, and a desire for revenge prompted their pursuit even into the strongholds of Canaan. The earlier expeditions having proved successful, a thirst for blood and for booty was aroused, and other expeditions were undertaken. Babylon had withdrawn from the field, so that there was no powerful enemy to be encountered until Mitanni was reached in the extreme north. Trade through the Red Sea, that had sprung up since the Mesopotamian overland route had been closed, brought increased wealth and made Egypt capable of new military undertakings. During the XVIIIth dynasty, accordingly, she became for the first time a world-power.

Aahmes was succeeded by Amenhotep (Amenophis)

I., his son by his half-sister Nefertari (*c.* 1553), who confirmed his position by marrying his own sister Aahhotep. He seems to have been a very young man when he began to reign and to have stood entirely under the influence of his mother, the great queen Nefertari, through whom all the rights of the XVIIIth dynasty to the throne were derived. There is no record that he undertook any campaigns in Syria; but since his son claimed this region and regarded its inhabitants as "rebels," it seems likely that, impressed by his father's victories, the Asiatics continued to pay him tribute.

Tahutimes I. (*c.* 1544) was the son of Amenhotep I. (or of Aahmes) by the concubine Sensenb. He became king by marrying his half-sister Aahmes. His accession was the signal for revolt both in the South and in the North. After chastising the Ethiopians in the manner of the old kings of the XIIth dynasty, he invaded Syria. Our only knowledge of this campaign is derived from the biographies of the captains Aahmes and Pennekheb on their tombs at El-Kab. Aahmes, who assisted at the conquest of Auaris, must now have been a very old man, yet he fought at the head of his troops with all the vigour of youth, and was presented once more with the "gold of bravery." His account of the campaign is as follows:

"Thereupon the king went against Ruten, in order to bathe his heart in the lands of the barbarians. His Majesty (may life, peace, and health be upon him!) found the enemy that had made the plot against him. His Majesty inflicted a great defeat upon the enemies; it was impossible to count the prisoners that His Majesty brought back from his victorious ex-

peditions. Behold I was at the head of our troops. His Majesty saw my bravery. I presented a chariot with its horses and its occupants alive, when the booty was brought before His Majesty; and I was once more rewarded with the 'gold of bravery.' Now I am old, I have reached old age. My honours are those of a chief among the people (?). Henceforth I shall rest in the tomb that I have made for myself."

Ruten, the scene of Tahutimes's campaigns, is the general name in the Egyptian inscriptions for Syria and Northern Palestine. Pennekheb adds merely the information that during the war in Naharina he captured for the king twenty-one hands, a horse, and a chariot. Naharina is Northern Syria and Mesopotamia on either side of the Euphrates, the Aram Naharaim of the Old Testament. Tahutimes III. records that he set up a tablet commemorating his victories, in the same place where his father had placed one before him, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. Scanty as these historical notices are, they give us an idea of the greatness of the successes of Tahutimes I. Probably he did not penetrate far beyond the Euphrates, still all of Syria and Palestine must have lain at his feet. Tribute was once more imposed, but nothing like a permanent administration of the conquered provinces was attempted.

Under Tahutimes I. diplomatic relations were begun between Egypt and Babylon, as we learn from a statement in a letter of Burnaburiash to Amenhotep III. "From the time of Karaindash, since your father's messengers came to my fathers, unto this time, they have been friendly."[1] Karaindash was the contem-

[1] Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, No. 8, line 8.

porary of Tahutimes I., and this statement is an interesting evidence of the extent of the latter's political influence in Asia.

Tahutimes II. was a mere figurehead; the actual government was carried on by his sister Hatshepsut, who cared nothing for foreign conquest. His half-brother Tahutimes III. occupied a similar position until, after the death of Hatshepsut (*c.* 1493), he became, at the age of fifty, sole master of Egypt.[1]

Our main information in regard to Tahutimes's campaigns is derived from the "Annals" which he inscribed upon the walls of the temple of Amen at Karnak.[2] These Annals contain an account of fourteen campaigns that the king made in Syria, with lists of the cities conquered and of articles received as tribute. It is the most important historical document that has come down to us from ancient Egypt, and is the first source that gives anything like a complete picture of the civilization of Syria and Palestine. It is supplemented by a number of lesser monuments of the king and by private inscriptions of his officials, especially the inscription of Amenemheb, an officer who accompanied him on several of his campaigns. The story of Tahutimes's reign which we gather from these sources is as follows:

Upon his accession to sole authority he found

[1] On the relation of these three monarchs see Sethe, *Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache*, xxxvi. 1 f.; Steindorff, *Blütezeit d. Pharaonenreichs*, pp. 28–40.

[2] Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, i., ii.; *Zeitschr. f. ägyptische Sprache*, 1881, p. 119; Birch, *Records of the Past*, ii. 35 *sq.* (translation unreliable); Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 295–305; Petrie, *History*, ii. 103 *sq.*

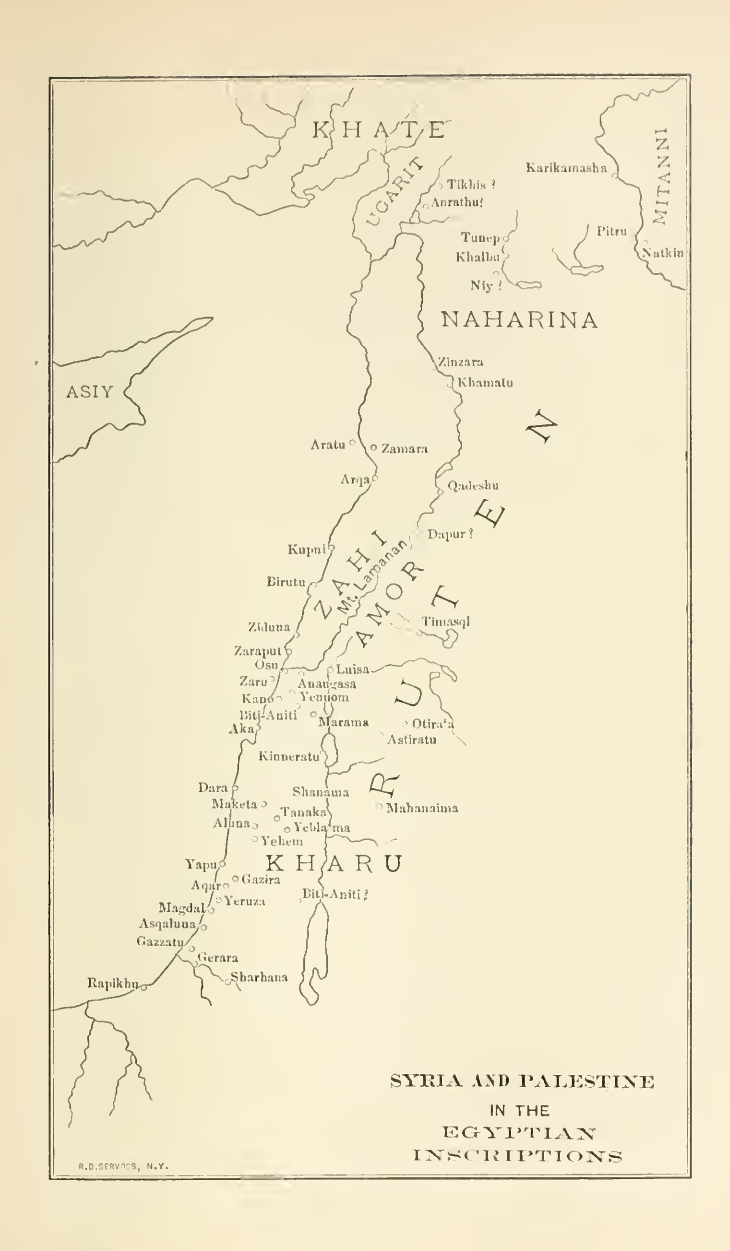
Northern Palestine and Syria in revolt. The king of Qadesh, the capital of the Amorites, on the upper waters of the Orontes, had formed a confederation into which he had drawn a number of petty kings. Southern Palestine and Phœnicia remained loyal. With extraordinary energy Tahutimes gathered his forces, and in the same year marched against the rebels.

On the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month, *i.e.*, about April 17th of our calendar,[1] when the winter rains were over, he encamped in Zalu, on the border of Palestine. Thence he proceeded to Sharhana in the later territory of Simeon, to Yeruza, a town in the same neighbourhood, and to Gazzatu (Gaza), the well-known city of the later Philistine territory. Here he began his twenty-third year and celebrated the feast of his coronation on the fourth day of the month Pakhons, *i.e.*, April 26th. The following day he marched northward by the regular caravan-road.

On May 8th he encamped at Yehem, a town lying to the south of Mount Carmel. Here word was brought in that the enemy was entrenched in Maketa (the biblical Megiddo, and the modern el Lejjun[2]). Here was assembled a formidable coalition of chieftains from Northern Palestine, the land of the Amorites, and Naharina, or Northern Syria, resolved to give battle in the Plain of Esdraelon, where they could

[1] Breasted, "The Length and Season of Thutmose III.'s First Campaign," *Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache*, 1899, p. 123.

[2] See G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 386 ff.; Breasted, *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology*, 1900, p. 96.



SYRIA AND PALESTINE IN THE EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTIONS



use their chariots to the greatest advantage. Tahutimes called a council of war to discuss the best way of attacking Megiddo. His generals informed him that the most direct route, which lay over Mount Aluna (Heb. *Elyon*), was narrow and difficult, and that there was danger that the vanguard would be attacked before the rear could come up. They advised, therefore, that the more circuitous road over Tanaka (Taanach, the modern Tannuk), or that over Zefta (Zephath) should be chosen. Tahutimes expressed great indignation at their proposal, which he attributed to cowardice, and announced his determination to advance by the route which led through Aluna. He put his army in marching order, and sent heralds through the camp to call for volunteers in the dangerous enterprise. This appeal roused the enthusiasm of the soldiers, and they cried out that they would follow the king wherever he went.

On May 11th the Egyptian army reached Aluna and encamped there for the night. The following morning Tahutimes advanced at the head of his troops through the narrow pass. Here he was attacked by skirmishing parties of the enemy, and deemed it wise to wait in the mountains until the rear of his forces could come up. By noon the vanguard defiled into the plain, and an hour later the rear passed the king. When all had come through in safety, he ordered the royal tent to be pitched by the Water of Qina to the south of the city of Megiddo. Then he gave command to prepare for battle on the morrow. The baggage was unpacked, rations were distributed, sentinels were posted, the watch-

word was given, and spies were sent out to examine the state of the surrounding country.

Early on the morning of May 13th the army was set in battle-array. The right wing occupied a hill to the south of the Water of Qina; the left wing extended to the northwest of Megiddo; and the king himself occupied the centre, riding in a chariot of electron "like Horus brandishing his arms, the mighty Lord, like Mentu, the god of Thebes." At the first onset of the Egyptians terror seized the Syrians, and they retreated in panic upon Megiddo, leaving their chariots of silver and gold upon the field. The people of the city closed the gates, and a fearful slaughter would have ensued, had not the cupidity of the Egyptian soldiers been roused at sight of the spoil, so that they desisted from pursuing the enemy. This gave the Syrians time to draw up the fugitives by garments let down from the walls, and among those who escaped thus was the king of Qadesh, the ringleader in the rebellion.

Tahutimes was now obliged to lay siege to Megiddo. He charged his soldiers to let no one escape, since the kings of the whole country were shut up within it, and its capture would mean the conquest of a thousand cities. In order to beleaguer it more effectually he commanded to cut down all the trees in the neighbourhood and to build a wall enclosing the place. A gate was made in this, and no one was allowed to pass who did not surrender to the Egyptian sentries. For fuller details in regard to the siege the inscriptions here refer the reader to a journal of Tahutimes's campaigns, that was written on a roll

of leather and was deposited in the temple of Amen. Within a few weeks the besieged Syrians were starved into submission, and their kings came out to prostrate themselves before the Pharaoh.

On one of the pylons of the temple of Karnak is a "list of the peoples of Upper Ruten which His Majesty shut up in the miserable Maketa (Megiddo), from whom he took their children as living captives (*i.e.*, hostages) . . . on his first victorious campaign."[1] This list contains the names of 119 Syrian towns. Among them occur the familiar names of Qadeshu (Kadesh), Maketa (Megiddo), Marama (Merom), Timasqi (Damascus), Khamatu (Hamath), Birutu (Beirut), 'Astiratu (Ashteroth), Luisa (Laish), Kinneratu (Chinneroth), Shanama (Shunem), Tanaka (Tanaach), Yeblama (Ibleam), Anukhertu (Anaharath), Yapu (Joppa), Gentu (Gath), Magdal (Migdol), Gerara (Gerar), Rabbau (Rabbah), Aqar (Ekron), Audira'a (Adoraim), Gazira (Gezer), Baarutu (Beeroth), Biti-sha'li (Beth-el), Biti-aniti (Beth-anoth). In this list occur also the names Joseph-el and Jacob-el (numbers 78 and 102), whose importance for the criticism of early Hebrew tradition has been noted already.[2] Many of the other names can be identified with more or less probability with modern Palestinian towns. The list

[1] See Conder, *Quarterly Statement*, 1876, pp 90–97, 140–148; Tomkins, *Records of the Past, 2d Series*, v.; *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1887, p. 162; *Proceedings of the Soc. Bibl. Archæol.*, 1893, p 255; Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, ii., pp. 48–56, 139–150; *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 1886, pp. 297 ff.; Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 157 ff.; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, ii., pp. 322 ff.

[2] Page 42.

as a whole shows that the nomenclature of Canaan was already established long before the arrival of the Hebrews. In spite of all later migrations and conquests, it has remained practically unchanged from that day to this.

The fall of Megiddo was the signal for the surrender of most of the cities of Syria. Envoys came bringing as tribute, horses, chariots, armour, weapons, flocks and herds, slaves, gold and silver vessels, inlaid furniture of wood and of ivory, and embroidered garments. Before leaving the plain of Esdraelon, Tahutimes had the entire harvest, amounting to 150,000 bushels of grain, reaped in order that it might be carried away by his soldiers.

The cities of Yenuom, Anaugasa, and Hurenkeru, in the land of the Amorites, which refused to submit, he attacked and speedily captured. In a single summer all of Palestine and Syria was subdued. The army returned laden with booty, bringing hundreds of male and female captives, and driving before it innumerable cattle.

Tahutimes III. was the inaugurator of the new policy of organizing a permanent government in the conquered provinces. For this purpose he established fortresses at strategic points. In his Annals they are usually spoken of as "halting-places," since they were towns at which the king rested on his expeditions. In later records they are called "royal cities." They were garrisoned with Egyptian troops, who in the Amarna letters are called by their Egyptian names *pedate*, "bowmen" and *Shardana*, *i.e.*, "mercenaries from the northern coast of the Mediterranean," per-

haps "Sardinians." The fortresses were under the command of Egyptian officers with large powers as the representatives of the king, and to them was entrusted the task of maintaining order and of collecting the annual tribute. Royal couriers passed continually to and fro between these stations and the capital at Thebes, bearing reports from the officials and orders from the king. Nearly every summer Tahutimes himself visited Syria to inspect the garrisons, to gather up the tribute, and to quell any disturbance that might have arisen.

In the administration of local government he did not attempt to interfere beyond securing that the rulers should be loyal. None of the kings mentioned in the Annals or in the Amarna letters have Egyptian names. After the battle of Megiddo Tahutimes reappointed all the chieftains who submitted. Ramman-nirari, king of Nukhashshi, in his letter to Amenhotep IV.[1] states that Manakhbi(r)ia (*i.e.*, Tahutimes III.) established his grandfather over the kingdom of Nukhashshi and poured oil upon his head. This shows that anointing was the regular method of inducting appointees into office. In order to secure the good behaviour of these rulers their sons were carried as hostages to Egypt. Here they were educated in Egyptian learning; and when vacancies occurred at home, either through death or through rebellion, they were sent back to fill the places. In this way it was hoped that the loyalty of the most troublesome provinces might gradually be secured. Tahutimes rarely interfered with the regular succes-

[1] Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, No. 37.

sion to the petty thrones of Syria and Palestine, and then only for good cause; but he always insisted that the heir should take an oath of allegiance and should enter office as one of his officials. From certain princes, whose loyalty was unquestioned, hostages were not demanded. When they died, their heirs began to reign at once; but they sent messengers to obtain the sanction of the Pharaoh and to bring back the anointing oil that he sent as a sign of his approval of the *de facto* government. Thus the prince of Kumidi writes to one of Tahutimes's successors:

"I am thy faithful servant. Let my lord, the king, ask all his deputies whether I am not the faithful servant of my lord, the king, . . . and let my lord, the king, condescend and let oil be brought. . . . Behold I have sent my son to the country of my lord, the king; and may he bring the oil from my lord the king." [1]

When the Pharaoh held the king of a city in captivity, or when he did not see fit to send on the heir whom he retained as hostage, the affairs of the place were administered during the interregnum by a council of elders. Thus a letter from the city of Tunip to Amenhotep IV. is headed "the inhabitants of Tunip." In it we read:

"And now for twenty years we have been sending to the king, our lord, but our messengers remain with the king, our lord; and now, O lord, we have requested from the king, our lord (the return of) Yadi-Addu, and may our lord give him. For our lord, the king, gave Yadi-Addu, and why did our lord, the king, cause him while in the way to return?" [2]

[1] Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, No. 141. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 41.

Similarly a letter from the city of Irqata begins: "Irqata and its elders fall down seven times and seven times at the feet of our lord, the king;"[1] and another letter is from "the people who are holding Gebal."[2]

All the subject princes were required to appear on stated occasions in the royal fortresses to adore the image of Amen-Ra, the great god of Thebes, and also the image of the Pharaoh. The cult of the king seems to have consisted in burning incense; hence when a beleaguered town wished to surrender, it signified this by waving a censer upon its battlements. In a letter from Tunip to Amenhotep IV.[3] mention is made of the images of the gods and of himself that Tahutimes III. had placed in this city.

An annual tribute was laid upon the provinces, and any delay in payment was interpreted as an act of rebellion. No excuses were accepted; even war, famine, or pestilence did not secure remission. How this tribute was levied, and how heavy it was, we are not informed. The lists of Tahutimes contain reports of indemnities received from conquered cities rather than yearly dues from submissive ones. In any case the tribute was not light. It consisted of "all the good things of the land." Gold and silver were naturally in chief demand; but when these could not be furnished, food, cattle, clothing, and utensils of every sort were accepted. If a region produced copper, lead, or other valuable minerals, these were placed upon its list. If it manufactured

[1] Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, No. 122.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 97. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 41.

chariots, arms, or other useful products, it was required to furnish these. The kings were obliged to give up their sons as hostages, and to send their daughters to become concubines in the Pharaoh's harem, or to be bestowed by him upon his favourites. Slaves were also part of the regular tribute.

Besides this tribute all sorts of extraordinary demands were made upon the unfortunate vassals. They were required to support the garrisons posted in their midst, and to furnish supplies to troops that passed through their territories. Royal messengers had to be entertained, and caravans had to be conducted safely to the frontier. The Egyptian deputies must be bribed with handsome presents, or they would hold back the tribute that passed through their hands and report the sender as one who had not paid. In case a neighbouring prince revolted they were required to furnish troops to help put down the rebellion.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Syrians did not submit cheerfully to the Egyptian yoke, and lost no opportunity to throw it off, when they had the smallest hope of success. Scarcely a year passed from Tahutimes's first expedition to the end of his life when he was not compelled to quell a rebellion in some part of Syria. Even the princes reared at the Egyptian court, who were expected to support Egyptian interests, usually found the pressure too strong, when they returned home, and rebelled like the rest.

Rebellion, or refusal to pay tribute, which amounted to the same thing, was visited with swift

and terrible punishment. The refractory city was given over to pillage and its skilled workmen were carried away into slavery. Its king was taken to Thebes to be slain before Amen, against whose majesty he had sinned; another member of the royal family was appointed in his place, and the annual tribute was increased. If after this lesson, the place dared to revolt again, it could look for no mercy.

The prince who was suspected of plotting rebellion was summoned to appear in Egypt and give an account of himself. Such a summons was dreaded almost as much as a declaration of war, since it involved an enormous expenditure. The suspected man had to travel with a costly retinue, to carry presents for the Pharaoh and for his officers, and to dispense bribes on all sides. Besides, the chances were that this outlay would avail him nothing, but that he would be shut up for the rest of his life in an Egyptian prison. It is small wonder that a number of the Amarna letters are devoted to excuses and apologies for not answering an invitation to appear at court. It is also easy to understand why the princes continually seek to cast suspicion of conspiracy upon their rivals. One of the most amusing features of the Amarna correspondence is the way in which the kings accuse one another of treason, while protesting their own fidelity to the Pharaoh.

In return for homage and prompt payment of tribute Pharaoh furnished his vassals protection against one another and against foreign invasion. The elders of Tunip allude to this in their letter to Amen-

hotep IV. "In former times who could have plundered Tunip without being plundered by Manakhbiria (Tahutimes III.)." Considering the fact that all the petty rulers had blood-feuds with one another and were all waiting for a chance to fly at one another's throats, it was no small advantage that they had over them a power strong enough to keep them in order, or at least to compel them to forget their jealousies in hostility to the common enemy. Tahutimes's system of government was far from ideal; its sole aim was to exploit the provinces; it made no attempt to incorporate them with Egypt, or to imbue them with Egyptian civilization; nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that on the whole it was a blessing. It maintained peace and order in a way that the Canaanites themselves had never been able to secure. It promoted commerce, encouraged art, opened up communication between distant regions, and thus fostered the growth and the spread of civilization.

For the period after Tahutimes's first campaign the information given by the Annals is exceedingly meagre. The scribe, who was commissioned to cover a certain number of square feet of temple-wall with inscriptions, devoted so much space to the siege and the capture of Megiddo that he had little room left for the king's later campaigns. Unfortunately for us, he decided to abbreviate the Annals by cutting out the narrative portions and giving merely the lists of tribute received and of booty taken during the later years of his master's reign. Incidentally these lists mention the expeditions that were undertaken, and furnish some geographical information; but in

the main they are dry and disappointing in comparison with the beginning of the Annals.

The year following his first campaign, the twenty-fourth of his reign, Tahutimes made a second expedition to Syria to receive his tribute. His Annals record with satisfaction the treasures that he secured. They were similar to those of the previous year, and included besides golden dishes, inlaid tent-poles, jars of incense, wine, and honey, and various sorts of precious woods.

In the twenty-fifth year of his reign he made a third expedition. This time, in addition to the usual tribute, he brought back a collection of trees and shrubs to set out at Thebes in the gardens of the temple of Amen. A fourth expedition was made in the twenty-sixth year, about which no details are known. In the twenty-seventh year the king remained at home, trusting to his garrisons to maintain order and to exact tribute. His absence seems to have been interpreted as a sign of weakness, for the cities of Phœnicia and of Syria broke out in revolt.

In the twenty-ninth year, he set out to chastise the rebels. Tunep (probably the modern Tenneb, eighteen miles north of Aleppo) was this time the centre of the revolution. After visiting one of the cities in which the tribute of the year was stored and giving thanks there to the gods, he marched upon Tunep and took it by storm. It yielded a rich booty: twenty pounds of silver, twenty pounds of gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, vases of bronze and of copper, copper, lead, emery, male and female slaves, besides the king of the city with three hundred warriors.

On his return Tahutimes traversed Phœnicia. Aratu (the Arvad of the Old Testament, Arados of the Greeks, and the modern Ruad) was the point at which he emerged on the coast. Here he reaped the grain and cut down the fruit-trees. Thence he proceeded southward along the coast. He found "the orchards full of fruits, the vats filled with wine as with water, the threshing-floors heaped with grain more abundant than the sand on the sea-shore." So great was the plenty that the soldiers "got drunk every day, and anointed themselves with oil as on holidays in Egypt."

In his thirtieth year Tahutimes made a sixth campaign in Syria. Qadesh, the capital of the Amorites, was captured and its crops and fruit-trees were destroyed. Zamara (Simyra, the modern Sumra) and Arvad were treated in a similar manner.

In the thirty-first year the king pushed his conquests farther northward than at any previous time. The city of Anrathu in the district of Tikhis, a region of Northern Syria, was conquered and the usual spoil was carried away. This time the list of articles brought back to Egypt was so long that the scribe who composed the inscription at Karnak did not insert it, but contented himself with the statement, "They are placed on a roll in the palace of the king: an enumeration of them is not given in this list lest there should be too many words."

In the thirty-second year Tahutimes apparently stayed at home; but in the thirty-third year, insurrection breaking out once more, he was compelled to make an eighth expedition. This time he carried his

arms beyond the Euphrates. Crossing the river at Karikamasha (Carchemish), he invaded the territory of Mitanni. Here he found the monument that his grandfather Tahutimes I. had erected, and placed one of his own beside it. A powerful coalition of the chieftains of Mitanni came out to meet him; but when he encountered them "they fled before him like a herd of gazelles." He marched through the land destroying and pillaging the towns, and seems to have penetrated as far as the river Balikh. At this stage of the campaign the king of Sangara (perhaps = Shinar, or Babylonia) deemed it prudent to buy him off from further advance with costly presents of real and of artificial lapis lazuli and with ornamental vases.

On his return Tahutimes passed through Niy. The exact location of this city is unknown. According to Müller, it was situated near the point where the Euphrates begins to bend eastward. According to Maspero and Petrie, it lay in the neighbourhood of Aleppo. During his stay in this place, as the biography of Amenemheb informs us, the king engaged in a great elephant-hunt. Elephants have long since disappeared from Syria, but in those days they were numerous, and he succeeded in slaying 120. At one time he was in danger of being killed by the leader of the herd, but his officer Amenemheb rushed into the water between two rocks and rescued him by hewing off the animal's trunk.

On the homeward march the king was met by ambassadors of the great Khate (Hittites) bringing silver rings weighing sixty pounds, white gems, and rare woods. This is the first appearance in Egyptian

history of the race which 200 years later became the most formidable antagonist of the kings of the XIXth dynasty. At this time it had not begun its career of conquest, but was still settled in its ancient home beyond the Taurus range. The present is recorded under the head of "tribute," but it is clear that in reality it was nothing more than a diplomatic courtesy.

A list of 350 towns of Northern Syria captured by Tahutimes III. is sculptured on the walls of the temple of Karnak. The majority of the names are still unidentified. Among them, however, may be recognized Khamatu (Hamath), Tunep, Niy, Khalbu (Aleppo), and other famous cities of the Egyptian, Hebrew, and Assyrian records.[1]

In his thirty-fourth year Tahutimes invaded Zahi (Phœnicia) and captured Anaugasa, a town to the south of Sidon on the side of Mount Lebanon. Here he took advantage of his nearness to the forests to transport a quantity of timber. Ships of Kupni (Gebal) and of Kefto (probably Crete, according to others Cilicia, or Phœnicia) were laden with beams of cedar, and were despatched to Egypt.

In his thirty-fifth year a formidable revolt broke out in Naharina (the region on either side of the Euphrates). The chief of Naharina, *i.e.*, probably the king of Mitanni, had formed a coalition of chieftains and had made Aroana, a city of unknown location, his headquarters. Tahutimes fought in person at the head of his troops and was once more successful, capturing an immense quantity of booty.

[1] See Tomkins, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæology*, ix., pp. 223–254, where also references to other literature are given.

For the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh years there is no record in the Annals. Tahutimes must have made expeditions, since the campaign in the thirty-eighth year is numbered as the thirteenth. This year Phœnicia was visited, and the rebellious city of Anaugasa was chastised a second time. The following three years apparently were marked also by expeditions to Syria, and in the forty-second year a serious revolt broke out with Qadesh as its centre. This city had been strongly fortified with new walls, and believed itself able to defy the Pharaoh. To this period of the history belongs probably the account of the siege of Qadesh in the biography of Amenemheb. While the army of Tahutimes was drawn up before the city, its inhabitants let loose a mare, which threatened to produce disorder among the war-stallions of the Egyptians. Perceiving the peril, Amenemheb ran out, ripped the mare up with his sword, and brought her tail back as a trophy. For this deed he received great praise from the king. At the capture of the city he led the storming party, and was rewarded for his valour with rich gifts. After the fall of Qadesh the whole of Syria once more submitted to Egyptian rule and paid its annual tribute.

With the forty-second year the Annals come to an end with the words: "His Majesty commanded that the victories which he had won from the twenty-third to the forty-second year of his reign should be recorded on this tablet in this sanctuary."

There is no reason to suppose that during the remaining twelve years of his life Tahutimes's career of conquest was in any way checked. Perhaps, as he

grew older, he intrusted the expeditions to his son or to his generals, still the flow of tribute was unchecked up to the day of his death. Under his rule Egypt reached the acme of her power; her territory extended from Ethiopia to Asia Minor, and from Phœnicia to the Euphrates. The memory of his greatness lasted long in Syria. Three generations later his name and the vigour of his rule were still well known to the writers of the Amarna letters.

After his death the Syrian provinces promptly revolted. Amenhotep II., the son of Tahutimes and the princess royal Meryra (*c.* 1461), was compelled, therefore, at the very beginning of his reign to make an expedition. The rebels withstood him at Shemesh-aduma in North Galilee and in Lebanon, but he defeated them without difficulty. He then advanced as far as Niy, one of the chief towns of Northern Syria. Here the inhabitants appeared on the walls burning incense in adoration of his divinity. The city of Tikhis, which refused to surrender, was captured, and seven chieftains who had taken refuge in it were smitten by the king's own club. Their bodies were brought to Thebes hanging to the prow of the royal vessel. Six were suspended on the walls, and one was sent to Nubia as an object-lesson to rebels in that region.

Beyond this expedition there is no record of other campaigns. Apparently the Asiatics settled down to the conviction that it was impossible to shake off the Egyptian yoke, and decided that it was safer to pay their tribute regularly than to expose themselves to the punishment of rebellion.

Amenhotep II. left only daughters of pure royal blood, and Tahutimes IV. (*c.* 1436), the son of a concubine, was legitimatized by marrying his half-sister the princess Mutemua. The records of his reign are scanty, but the stele of one of his officers speaks of his "first campaign in Naharina," and the monument of another officer depicts Syrians bringing him tribute. It appears, accordingly, that he maintained the integrity of the empire bequeathed by his father. He did not attempt, however, to extend its borders, but chose rather to make treaties with the kings of the neighbouring states. The daughter of Artatama, king of Mitanni, he asked in marriage; and although Artatama was at first unwilling to grant her, he at last consented.[1]

The reign of Tahutimes IV. was brief, and about 1427 B.C. he was succeeded by his son Amenhotep III. Few Egyptian monarchs reigned under more favorable auspices. His right to the throne was uncontested, for he was a son of a reigning Pharaoh and of a princess of royal blood. It was even reported that in him the god Amen had interposed to renew the solar line. Assuming the form of Tahutimes IV., he had appeared to the princess Mutemua, and had become by her the father of Amenhotep.

He was heir to a mighty empire, thoroughly consolidated by his forefathers, and accustomed to the Egyptian yoke. No war is recorded during his thirty-years reign. His expeditions into the provinces were merely tours of inspection, on which he amused himself with hunting. It is recorded that

[1] Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, No. 21, lines 16 ff.

during his first ten years he slew with his own hand 102 lions. Tribute flowed in regularly from all the subject peoples, and the superabundant wealth was employed in building the temples of Soleb, of Luqsor, and of Elephantine. With peace at home and abroad, and with his supremacy acknowledged among the nations of the earth, his reign was the most splendid in Egyptian history.

For the condition of Syria and Palestine under his rule we have for the first time native sources of information in the famous Amarna letters, to which reference has frequently been made already.[1] The larger part of these letters was addressed to Amenhotep IV., still several name his father. It is probable also that among the anonymous letters written before the decline of Egyptian rule a number were sent to Amenhotep III. In any case, letters of this sort depict conditions that prevailed during his reign.

Although these letters are written in Babylonian, they disclose repeatedly the native tongue of the authors by the glosses which they append to Babylonian words. Thus after *khal-qa-at* is added the translation *a-ba-da*, "perish;" after *i-pi-ra*, *a-pa-ru*, "dust;" after *shadi*, *kha-ar-ri*, "mountain;" after *khukhari*, *kilubi*, "cage." From these glosses, as well as from numerous expressions scattered through the letters, it appears that the language of Syria and Palestine was merely an older dialect of the same language that was spoken in later times by the Hebrews, Phœnicians, Moabites, Edomites, and other

[1] See particularly p. 49. For literature on the Amarna letters and Amarna period see p. xxxii.





SYRIA AND PALESTINE
IN THE
TELL-EL-AMARNA
LETTERS

nations of Canaan. The proper names are either the same that we meet in the Old Testament or are of similar formation.

Kinakhni or (Acc.) Kinakhna (by foreigners less accurately written Kinakhkhi or Kinâkhkhi), *i.e.*, Kena'an, "Canaan," is the name applied in the Amarna letters to the whole of Syria and Palestine, including the region east of the Jordan. A passport designed to carry a Babylonian messenger all the way to Egypt is addressed "to the kings of the land of Canaan;" and in like manner Burnaburiash, king of Babylon, speaks of the Syrian chieftains who wished to form an alliance with his father against Egypt as "the Canaanites altogether." "Canaan is thy land," says Burnaburiash to Amenhotep with reference to his entire Asiatic domain.

The northernmost district of Syria is known in the Amarna letters as Narima or Nakhrima, which is the same as Naharina of the Egyptian monuments, and Naharaim of the Old Testament. South of Narima lies Amurru, *i.e.*, "the Amorites," or, as it was written ideographically in old Babylonian fashion, *MAR-TU.*[1] The name applies to the region directly behind the North Phœnician coast. East of Amurru and south of Narima lies Nukhashshi. South of Amurru and Nukhashshi is the land of Qadesh, with Qadesh on the Orontes as its capital. South of Qadesh to the west is the land of Amqi, and to the east Ubi, with Damascus as its capital. South of Amqi and Ubi lies Gar on the west side of the Jordan in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee, and Ziri-

[1] See pp. 16, 30.

Bashani, or "the chain of Bashan," east of the Jordan. For Phœnicia and for Southern Palestine there are no specific names.

About 150 cities and towns are mentioned in the Amarna letters, and of these at least 100 can be identified with modern sites with reasonable certainty. Others, which cannot be identified, are known to be the equivalents of Egyptian or of Old Testament names. Beginning in the north, we have Tunip, the modern Tenneb, eighteen miles north of Aleppo, and Ni, the Niy of the Egyptian monuments, whose location is uncertain. Coming farther south, we find on the coast Arwada (Arvad), and Tsumur (Simyra); and inland, Qideshu (Qadesh). Still further south on the coast are Biruta, or Biruna (Beirut), Tsiduna (Sidon), and Tsurri (Tyre); and inland, Dimashqa or Timashgi (Damascus). South of Sidon lies Akka (Acre); and inland, Magdali (Magdala on the Sea of Galilee) and Magidda (Megiddo, Khan Lejjun). On the Palestinian coast are Yapu (Joppa), Asqaluna (Ashkelon), Azzati or Khazzati (Gaza); and inland, Urusalim (Jerusalem), and Lakish (Lachish).

Throughout the whole of the country represented by these districts and cities Egyptian authority was unquestioned. In the days of Amenhotep III. the Canaanites had been tributary so long that they had come to regard this condition as one that had always existed. "Gebal has been thy slave and the slave of thy fathers for ages," writes Rabimur. "Gebal, his slave, has been a city of the king for ages," writes Rib-Addi. "As my fathers have been in the

service of thy fathers, so will I be," writes a prince of Syria who wishes to be confirmed in office. "Since my fathers became thy servants, this land has been thy land, the city of Qatna thy city, and I belong to my lord," writes Akizzi of Qatna. "As long as ships have been upon the sea, the mighty arm of the king has occupied Nakhrima and Kashshi (Syria and Babylonia[1] or Ethiopia ?)," writes Abd-khiba of Jerusalem.

In their professions of loyalty the senders of the Amarna letters are most profuse. They address the Pharaoh as "king, king of Egypt, great king, king of the lands, king of battle, my lord, lord of the lands, my father, my sun, the sun of heaven, the sun of the lands, my god, the breath of my life." Occasionally they append "son of Shamash," as a translation of the Egyptian title "son of Ra," with the absurd result that the Pharaoh is entitled both "sun" and "son of the sun."

They call themselves "thy son, thy slave, the groom of thy horse, the dust of thy feet, the dust under the sandals of thy feet, the ground on which thou treadest," and even "thy dog." They declare that they prostrate themselves seven times before the king, or seven and seven times, and very zealous vassals add "on the back and on the breast." These are the conventional formulæ that occur in letters from every part of the land. No one writer employs them all, but each makes a judicious selection in proportion to his sense of importance or his desire to ingratiate himself with the Pharaoh.

[1] Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, i. 2, p. 149.

The sender of each letter assures the king that he is devoted to the royal interests. "If my lord the king says to me, 'Be at the command of my prefect,' the slave says to his lord, 'I will.' Upon my breast and upon my back I bear the commandment of the king, my master. . . . Behold a slave who hearkens to his master, his city is prosperous, his household is prosperous, and his name will last forever," so writes Abi-milki, king of Tyre. Still more servile are the words of Lapaya, a king of the region later known as Judæa: "If the king should ask for my wife, I would not refuse her; and if the king should send to me (saying): 'thrust a dagger of bronze into thy heart, and die,' I would surely carry out the king's command." Curious for its similarity with Old Testament thought is the declaration of Yabitiri, the governor of Gaza and Joppa, "Behold I am a faithful slave of my lord, the king. I look this way and I look that way and there is no brightness; but I look toward my lord, the king, and all is bright. A brick may move from its cornice, but I will not move from under the feet of my lord, the king."

The contents of the letters that remain after the adulation and the protestations of fidelity are subtracted are usually meagre. From the peaceful period of Amenhotep III. and the beginning of the reign of his successor we find for the most part reports that the sender of the letter is fulfilling his duty as the governor of some city, that he has forwarded his annual tribute, that he has provisioned the royal troops, that he has rendered military service as required, that he has guarded the roads

from robbers and has expedited caravans on their way, or that he has received an order from the king which he is prepared at once to obey. A typical letter of this period is that of Yitia, king of Ashkelon :[1]

"To my lord, the king, my gods, my sun, the sun of heaven, Yitia, thy slave, the dust of thy feet, the groom of thy horse. At the feet of my lord the king, seven and seven times I prostrate myself upon my back and upon my breast. Surely I am guarding the place of the king, my lord, and the city of the king, my lord, which is in my care. Who would be an *urgu* (?) and not hearken to the command of the king, the sun in the heavens? Surely I have provided all the . . ., the food, the liquor, the cattle, the sheep, the honey, and the oil; everything that the king, my lord, commanded, surely I have provided them. And surely I have rendered the tribute of the sun, as my lord, the king, the sun in the heavens, commanded."

Occasionally some turbulent spirit refused to pay tribute and attempted to revolt. Aziru, son of Abd-Ashirta, who played an important part in the next reign, started a rebellion even under Amenhotep III. This was promptly reported by Akizzi, king of Qatna,[2] and was put down without difficulty by Amenhotep, as we learn from a letter of Rib-Addi to his successor: "When I wrote thy father, he hearkened unto my words, and sent soldiers that the sons of Abd-Ashirta might not take. . . ." Such outbreaks were rare, apparently, during the lifetime of Amenhotep III.

An interesting glimpse into Canaanitish politics is

[1] Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, No. 207. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 138.

afforded by a letter of Burnaburiash, king of Babylon, to Amenhotep IV., the son of Amenhotep III.:

"In the time of Kurigalzu, my father, the Canaanites unitedly wrote to him: 'Against the border of the land we will march and make an insurrection. With thee will we make an alliance.' My father wrote them as follows: 'Seek no alliance with me. If you are hostile to the king of Egypt, my brother, and make an alliance with one another, I will surely come and plunder you, for he is in alliance with me.' My father for the sake of your father would not listen to them."[1]

From this it appears that the Canaanites were anxious to revolt, but did not dare to attempt it without outside aid.

With the kings of Mitanni, Assyria, Karduniash (Babylonia), and of the Hittites Amenhotep maintained peaceful relations, and a number of letters sent by these kings were found at Tell-el-Amarna. From these letters we gain a wonderfully clear insight into the relations of the leading nations of the world about 1400 B.C. Far from being isolated, as was formerly supposed, they were in constant communication. Not only was there a steady interchange of commercial products, but also of art, literature, and religious ideas. In the centre of this stream of trade and of thought lay Syria and Palestine, exposed to influences from every side. Under these circumstances their civilization could not fail to assume a cosmopolitan form, and this may be one reason why Palestine, rather than Egypt or Babylonia, became the birthplace of a world-religion.

[1] Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, No. 7.

CHAPTER VII

THE HITTITE AND THE ARAMÆAN MIGRATION

1392–1376 B.C.

WITH the death of Amenhotep III. (*c.* 1392) the decline of Egyptian rule in Syria and Palestine began. One of its main causes was the discord that prevailed in consequence of the religious innovations attempted by Amenhotep IV. The first act of his reign was to adopt Aten, the solar disk, as the chief god of the realm. Against Amen of Thebes his animosity was specially directed, and he attempted to obliterate his name from the monuments. His own name he changed from Amen-hotep ("Amen is contented") to Akh-en-Aten ("Spirit of the solar disk"). Such a revolution could not fail to encounter strenuous opposition, particularly at Thebes. So uncomfortable did it become for the young king in this city, that he determined to establish a new capital in the district of the modern Tell-el-Amarna. Here he built a city and founded in its midst a palace and a temple of Aten.

A second cause of the decline of Egyptian rule in Syria and Palestine was the invasion of these regions by new tribes from the North and from the East. These peoples were warlike, and had no inclination to submit as their predecessors had done. Although

Egypt made a brave fight to retain her provinces, she was forced to relinquish them one by one, until she was restricted to her ancient limits before the conquests of the XVIIIth dynasty.

In the time of Tahutimes III. the people known in the Egyptian monuments as Khate, and in the Amarna letters as Khatti, *i.e.*, the Hittites,[1] were settled beyond the Taurus mountains in Cappadocia and Cilicia. Not until the reign of Amenhotep III. do we meet clear evidence of their advance into Syria. Dushratta, king of Mitanni, was menaced by them at the beginning of his reign,[2] and repulsed them only after hard fighting. Ramman-nirari, king of Nukhashshi in North Syria, was also attacked by them,[3] and Akizzi of Qatna complained that they had burned a city and carried off his gods.[4] In spite of all opposition, certain Hittite clans succeeded in making permanent settlements in Northern Syria. Tarkhundaraush, king of Arzaua (by Jensen identified with the district of Carchemish), was one of the Amarna correspondents. The language of his letter is asserted by Sayce[5] and Messerschmidt[6] to be identical with that of tablets recently discovered by Chantre[7] at Boghaz Keui in Cappadocia, a centre of Hittite power. Other Hittite princes also are mentioned in the Amarna letters. Contemporaneously with their

[1] For literature on the Hittites see the bibliography on p. xxviii.

[2] Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, No. 16, lines 30 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 37.

[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 138, 139.

[5] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archæology*, xix. 281 ff.; xx., pp. 250 ff.

[6] *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, April, 1899, col. 115.

[7] *Recherches archéologiques dans l'Asie occidentale.*

appearance proper names of a new type begin to be found in Syria. Shuardata and Uashdata, the names of two Egyptian officials, are neither Semitic nor Mitannic, but are apparently Hittite.

Early in the reign of Amenhotep IV. the great migration of the Hittites began. Pouring through the passes of the Taurus, they seized one after another the wealthy cities of Syria, and began that career of conquest which made them in the next generation the chief military power of Western Asia. From all parts of the provinces letters were sent to the Egyptian court at Tell-el-Amarna stating that they were advancing, and begging the help of the Pharaoh. Aziru, the Amorite, wrote to Dudu, the Egyptian resident: "The king of Khatti has marched into Nukhashshi, and the cities are not strong enough to escape the king of Khatti." To Khai he wrote: "The king of Khatti is staying in Nukhashshi and I am afraid of him. I am watching lest he enter *MAR-TU* (the Amorite land); for if Tunip falls, the way (will be open?)." "If my lord does not send troops for the defence of the land (it will be conquered), for now he is staying in Nukhashshi. There are two roads to Tunip, and I fear that it will fall, and that Tunip will not be strong enough to resist. . . ." Three kings of the neighbourhood of Damascus sent simultaneously to say that they had made an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge the enemy from the region of Amqi. Rib-Addi of Gubla declared: "I have written repeatedly, but no answer has been given me. If all the lands of my lord, the king, are seized, my lord will lament (?) (over their

loss). But now behold the men of Khatti are plundering the chieftains of Gubla." Rabimur, who succeeded Rib-Addi in the rule of Gubla when he was obliged to remove to Beirut, made a similar report and a similar appeal for aid.[1] From these and from other letters in the same strain it is evident that during the reign of Amenhotep IV. the Khatti steadily gained ground in Northern Syria.

The identity of these Khatti with the Hittites of the Old Testament and of the Assyrian and Vanic monuments cannot be inferred from mere identity of name. Khatti is the name of a land rather than of a race, and this land may have been occupied by several successive races in the interval between Egyptian and Assyrian rule. It is probable, however, from other considerations that all the Hittites known to history belonged to one stock. Sapalulu, the name of a king of Khate in the next generation after Amenhotep IV., or possibly in the reign of Amenhotep himself, reappears in the reign of Shalmaneser II., king of Assyria (833), under the form of Sapalulme, the name of the king of Patin, a district of the old Hittite country. The ending *sera* which occurs in Maura-sera and Khate-sera, two of the successors of Sapalulu, and in Sura-sir of the Amarna letters, is found also in Pi-siri, or Pi-siris, king of the Hittites at Carchemish in the time of Sargon (717); and Khate-sera is the equivalent of Khattu-sar, the name of a king of Gurgum, a district of Comagene in the time of Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* 1000). Mautallu, the name of a brother of Khatesera,

[1] Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, Nos. 45, 46, 47, 104, 119, 120.

recurs in Mutallu, the name of a king of Comagene in the time of Sargon. The name of the goddess (?) Tarkhu appears as an initial element in the names of three officers of Khatesera and in the name of Tarkhundaraush, king of Arzaua, in the time of Amenhotep III.; but this element appears also in the names of Tarkhunazi, king of Melitene, and of Tarkhulara of Gurgum, in the time of Sargon. In view of these facts the racial identity of the earlier with the later Hittites can hardly be doubted.

Throughout the region occupied by this race at the height of its power, *i.e.*, Asia Minor and Syria as far south as Hamath, a number of remarkable hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found. The characters are pictures of men, or parts of the body, of birds, animals, weapons, utensils, etc. They are cut in relief on the stone, and are written in lines that run alternately from left to right and from right to left.[1] Presumably these inscriptions come from the Hittites, since their area is co-extensive with that of the Hittite supremacy, and since there is no other race to which they can be assigned. The costumes depicted, as well as the reliefs that accompany them, have many points of similarity with the pictures of Hittites on the Egyptian monuments. A small silver boss has also been discovered, which in its centre depicts a king in the same Hittite royal dress with which we are made familiar by the monuments, and which around its edge has an inscription both in Assyrian and in the peculiar characters in

[1] See Messerschmidt, "Corpus inscriptionum Hettiticarum," in *Mitteil. d. vorderas. Gesellschaft*, 1900, 5.

question. The Assyrian legend reads, "Tar-qu(?)-dim(?)-me, king of Ur(?)-me." With this the Cilician name Tarkondemos of the Roman period has been compared; and in any case, Tarqu seems to represent the old Hittite deity Tarkhu. In view of these facts it is safe to conclude that the Hamathite inscriptions, as they have been called from the place where they first were found, are the work of the Hittites of the Egyptian and of the Assyrian monuments.

Of the numerous attempts to read these monuments the most recent and most elaborate is that of Professor Jensen of Marburg,[1] who believes that Hittite is an ancient form of Armenian. His conclusions have been accepted by the Armenian scholar Brockelmann, by Reckendorf, Hilprecht, Schwally, and Zimmern; but they are still disputed by Sayce, Hommel, Winckler, Messerschmidt, and other Orientalists.

Until the question is settled, in what language the Hittite inscriptions are written, it is impossible to determine to what race this people belonged. Supposed Hittite loan-words in Egyptian furnish as yet no clue, and Hittite proper names are also an insufficient basis for ethnological conclusions. Pu-u-khi-pa, the wife of Khatesera, bears a name that has the same ending as Gilu-khipa and Tadu-khipa, names of princesses of Mitanni; and Tare-Tishubu, the ambassador of Khatesera, has a name compounded with that of the Mitannian god Tishub. From these facts it has been inferred that the Hittites were near kinsmen of the people of Mi-

[1] *Zeitschrift d. deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, xlviii., pp. 235–352, 429–485; *Hittiter und Armenier*, 1898.

tanni; but the conclusion is uncertain, for Pu-u-khi-pa is stated to have been a princess of Qidawadana, and, therefore, may not have been a Hittite; and it is quite possible that the messenger employed by Khatesera was a Mitannian, who was familiar with the methods of the Egyptian court.

Those who reject Jensen's connection of Hittite with Armenian show no agreement among themselves; some regarding it as a Turanian language, others as akin to the Lycian, or to the pre-Aryan Vanic. Only one fact can be regarded as established: the Hittites were not Semites. Neither in language nor in physical characteristics have they any points of similarity with the earlier inhabitants of Syria.

In the Egyptian monuments they are depicted as a white race. They had no beards; but this may have been due to shaving. Their hair they wore in two pointed tails falling on either side of the face. As these tails were not braided, they must have been kept in shape by means of some unguent. This manner of dressing the hair was found also among the natives of Kefto (Crete ?), and seems to have been characteristic of the peoples of Asia Minor. They were dressed in tunics of Babylonian type, exposing the right shoulder. Long after this garment had gone out of fashion among the Semites, the Hittites continued to use it. Beneath this they wore in cold weather a long, closely fitting shirt with sleeves. As a protection against the snows of their native mountains they wore high boots with pointed toes turning upward, such as are still used by the natives of Cappadocia. Even after they had migrated to milder climes they

retained these boots as part of their national dress. The king's badge of office was a high, pointed hat similar to those worn by the gods in the Hittite reliefs. The troops were armed with round-topped helmets, triangular bows, square or double-axe-shaped shields, and short swords. They fought in chariots, which, unlike those of the Syrians and Egyptians, carried three warriors.[1]

Our earliest knowledge of the religion of the Hittites is derived from the treaty between Ramessu II. and Khatesera.[2] This mentions, besides 1,000 gods and goddesses of the Hittite land, three great gods, the Sun, the Sutekh of the land of the Hittites, and the Ashtart of the land of the Hittites. These deities are here identified with their Egyptian equivalents. What their native names were can only be conjectured. In later times the divine names used most frequently in compounding proper names in the regions once occupied by the Hittites were Tarkhu, Ro, and Sanda. Tarkhu is perhaps the Ashtart of the land of the Hittites, the later Derketo, or Atargatis (?); Ro is perhaps Sutekh, and Sanda, who later is identified with Herakles, is perhaps the sun-god. Of the three deities the goddess enjoyed the highest esteem. The sky-god was her husband, and the sun-god her lover, and from this triad all life was believed to have sprung.[3]

Contemporaneous with the Hittite advance into Syria another migration occurred that was no less disastrous for the Egyptian supremacy. The Amarna

[1] Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 324. [2] See p. 130.

[3] See Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier*, pp. 149–177.

letters written to Amenhotep IV. are full of appeals for help against a nomadic people whose name is sometimes spelled phonetically Kha-bi-ri, at other times is represented by the Babylonian ideogram *SA-GAS*, *i.e.*, *khabbatu*, "robber."[1]

Early in the reign of Amenhotep IV. Itakkama, a prince of North Syria, wrote to the Pharaoh: "Namyawaza has delivered all the cities of my lord, the king, to the Khabiri in the land of Qadesh and in Ubi; but I will go, and if thy gods and thy Shamash go before me, I will bring back the cities of my lord, the king, out of the hands of the Khabiri . . . and I will drive out the Khabiri." Namyawaza, the man who is here complained of, wrote about the same time a letter in which he protested his unswerving loyalty. "Verily I and my soldiers, and my chariots, together with my brethren, and my Khabiri, and my

[1] The same people whom Abd-khiba of Jerusalem in letters 179–185 (Winckler) calls Khabiri are in letters 163, 170, 173, 192, 193, 204, 205, 227, 230, all of which came from Palestine, designated *SA-GAS*. From this Winckler is probably right in inferring that in these letters *SA-GAS* is always to be read Khabiri. When in letter 144 Namyawaza of Syria speaks of "my *SA-GAS* and my Suti," he can hardly mean "my robbers." That the name Khabiri is not to be taken as an appellative and translated "allies" is probable from the way in which it is combined with the gentilic name Suti. Nowhere is any synonym of "allies" used in describing them. Nowhere are Khabiri spoken of as Canaanites, or are Canaanites said to have become Khabiri, as must have been the case if this name meant "allies." Instead of this Canaanites are said to "fall away to the Khabiri." On the Khabiri question see the literature on the Amarna letters given on p. xxxii. and, in particular, Haupt, *Independent*, Jan. 12, 1899; König, *Expository Times*, Feb. 1900; Sayce, *Ibid.*, May, 1900; Reissner, *Journal of Bibl. Literature*, 1898, p. 143; Peiser, *Mitteil. d. vorderas. Gesell.* 1897, 4.

Suti, are at the disposal of the army, whenever my lord, the king, commands." The prince of Khazi reported also: "The Khabiri are hostile to me, and are taking possession of the cities of my lord, the king, my god, my sun. For the Khabiri have taken possession of Makhzi . . ti, the city of my lord, the king, and have plundered it, and have given it over to fire." Another Syrian prince, whose name is illegible, wrote: "Let my lord, the king, know that the chieftains are destroyed . . . (and the whole) land of my lord, the king, is falling away to the Khabiri." Rib-Addi of Gubla was in special straits, and made piteous appeals for reinforcements. In similar strain Zimrida, king of Sidon, complained: "All my cities, which the king gave into my hand, have fallen into the hands of the Khabiri."

The peril was equally great in Palestine. Abd-khiba, king of Jerusalem, wrote to the Pharaoh: "The land of the king is going to ruin. If thou listen not to me, all the chieftains will be lost; and my lord, the king, will have no more chieftains. Let my lord, the king, turn his face toward the people; and let my lord, the king, send bowmen. If bowmen come this year, the lands will continue to belong to my lord, the king; but if no bowmen come this year, the lands of my lord, the king, are lost." Other princes of Palestine reported to the same effect.[1]

The Khabiri, together with the Akhlami and Suti, who are combined with them in the Amarna letters, were the forerunners of the Aramæan migration,

[1] Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, Nos. 144, 146, 142, 134, 283, 59, 72, 73, 99, 154, 163, 147, 179, 170.

which in the succeeding centuries overflowed Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Assyria. Before this time no trace of Aramæans is found in the monuments. The first sure sign of them in Egypt is the name Darmeseq for Dameseq, "Damascus," in a list of Ramessu III.[1] The first mention of them in the Assyrian records is in an inscription of Shalmaneser I. (*c.* 1330).[2] Müller conjectures with considerable probability that the mistake of Aram for Amor in a text of the time of Ramessu II. indicates a knowledge of Aramæans in Syria as early as 1300 B.C.[3] In view of the nomadic habits of these tribes, as well as of the fact that the Babylonian and Assyrian records represent the Syrian desert as their original home, there can be no doubt that, like all the other Semites, they were emigrants from Arabia.

That the Khabiri were Hebrews in the narrower sense, *i.e.*, Israelites, is highly improbable. The exodus from Egypt cannot have taken place so early as the Khabiri invasion, and the history of the Israelitish conquest does not correspond with the operations of the Khabiri as recorded in the Amarna letters. On the other hand, it is likely that they were Hebrews in the wider sense, *i.e.*, that they belonged to the group of tribes which Israel regarded as related to itself through descent from a common ancestor Eber.

In favor of this view is the etymological equivalence of Khabiri with 'Ibri, "Hebrew." In the Amarna letters ' (ע) is constantly represented by the

[1] Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 234 f.

[2] Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, i., p. 136.

[3] *Asien und Europa*, pp. 222, 234.

Babylonian *kh*. Khabiri, therefore, is 'Abiri, which could easily be syncopated into 'Ibri. Israel, Moab, Ammon, and Edom are not mentioned in the monuments before the XIVth century. It can hardly be accidental that their rise to prominence falls in the age immediately following the appearance of the Khabiri. Still another reason for identifying the two peoples is the fact that both belonged to the Aramæan race. In the case of the Khabiri this is proved by their association with the Aramæan Suti and Akhlami; in the case of the Hebrews, by a unanimous native tradition. All the documents of the Pentateuch agree that Laban, the Aramæan, was the kinsman of Jacob, *i.e.*, of Israel.[1] Gen. xxxi. 47 emphasizes the Aramæan origin of Laban by putting into his mouth the Aramaic words *jegar-sahadutha*, "the heap of witness." In Deut. xxvi. 5 the Israelite is bidden, when he brings his offering of first fruits, to say: "A wandering Aramæan was my father." In the genealogical tables of P Aram and Eber (the assumed ancestor of the Hebrews) are both descendants of Shem. In the genealogies of J (Gen. xxii. 21) Aram is a descendant of Eber through Nahor.

Through the invasion of Syria and Palestine by the Hittites and by the Khabiri a state of indescribable confusion was produced. The native princes were at a loss whether to remain faithful to Egypt, to side with the invaders, or to oppose both. Some decided one way, others another; and soon the land was filled with hostile factions. Commerce was interrupted, and messengers could no longer pass in safety be-

[1] E, Gen. xxxi. 20; J, xxix. 10; P, xxv. 20.

tween the courts of Egypt and those of Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylon. Burnaburiash, king of Babylon, wrote to complain that the caravan of his messengers had twice been plundered in Palestine, and to demand that Amenhotep IV. should make good the injury. Dushratta's begging letters ceased, doubtless because in the unsettled state of the country he was no longer able to forward them to Egypt.

Abd-Ashirta, the Amorite, and his son Aziru, who already under Amenhotep III. had made trouble and had had to be suppressed, saw in the prevailing disorder their golden opportunity. Still professing themselves loyal adherents of the Egyptian government, they formed secret alliances with the Hittites, the Khabiri, and the kings of Mitanni and Babylon to attack the loyal districts and to divide the spoil. The wealthy cities of the Syrian and of the Phœnician coast, which were accessible both to the Amorites and to the Hittites, were first assailed.

Our chief information in regard to the progress of this war is derived from a series of over sixty letters written by Rib-Addi, prefect of Gubla (Gabula), a city on the North Syrian coast, to Amenhotep IV. In spite of the odds against him, he remained loyal to Egypt, and cherished to the last a bitter hatred of the wily Abd-Ashirta and his sons.

"Abd-Ashirta is a dog, and he is trying to capture all the cities of the king . . . for the king of Mitanni and for the king of Kash (the Babylonian Kassites)." "What dogs these sons of Abd-Ashirta are! They act according to the desire of their heart, and cause the cities of the king to go up in flames." "The sons of Abd-Ashirta are dogs of the king

of Kashshi and of the king of Mitanni, and they are taking the land in possession for themselves." "At the time when thou didst ascend the throne of the house of thy fathers, . . . the sons of Abd-Ashirta began to take possession of the land of the king. They are dogs of the king of Mitanni, of the king of Kashshi, and of the king of the Hittites;" "The sons of Abd-Ashirta are giving the land to the Mighty King (the king of the Hittites)!" "Abd-Ashirta has taken the city of Shigata for himself and has said to the people of Ammia, 'Kill your governor, and become as we are, then you will have peace;' and they have done according to his words, and have become like the Khabiri."

Such were the charges, doubtless well founded, that Rib-Addi brought against Abd-Ashirta and his sons.

In his letters we can trace the gradual conquest of the cities of the North Syrian coast until only Tsumura and Gubla (Simyra and Gabula) remained. "Bumabula (?), the son of Abd-Ashirta has entered Ullaza by force. Ardata, Yikhlia, Ambi, Shigata, all the cities are his. Let the king, my lord, send help to Simyra, that the king may take counsel for his land." So writes Rib-Addi from Gubla.[1] Seven other letters are couched in similar terms and beg the king earnestly to send help before it is too late.

To the same period, when Simyra was still holding out, but was in danger of falling at any moment, belongs a letter from the elders of the city of Tunip:

"If the (king's) soldiers and chariots come too late, Aziru will treat us like the city of Ni. If we have to mourn, the king of Egypt will have to mourn also over the things that Aziru has done, for he will stretch out his hand against our lord. And when Aziru enters Simyra, Aziru will do to us

[1] Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, No. 86.

what is in his heart in the territory of the king, our lord; and on account of these things our lord will have to mourn. And now Tunip, thy city, weeps, and her tears flow, and there is no help for her." [1]

No aid came to Simyra and presently the letters record that it has fallen into the hands of Abd-Ashirta.

"Simyra, thy stronghold, is now in the hands of the Khabiri, and wilt thou delay? Send soldiers and a commander, and drive out the enemies of the king from the midst of the land, that all lands may be brought again unto the king. Thou art a great lord, but do not neglect this message."

Rib-Addi was soon restricted to the city of Gubla, where he continued to keep up a brave fight against the Amorites and their allies and to send pathetic letters to the Pharaoh begging for succour. A typical letter of this period reads as follows:

"To my lord, the sun:—Rib-Addi, thy servant. At the feet of the king, the sun, seven times and seven times, I fall. May Ba'alat of Gubla give power to my lord, the king. If I have written in this way to my lord, the king, no attention has been paid to my words. Verily, three times these years have passed over me, and for two years my grain has grown. (Now, however, in the third year) there is no grain for us to eat. Who should have sown it for my subjects? Their sons and daughters and the . . . of their houses are no more, having been given to Yarimuta for our sustenance. Further, let my lord, the king, hear the words of his faithful servant, and send grain in ships and preserve the life of his servant, and his city. And may he give 400 men and 30 pairs of (?) horses." [2]

[1] Winckler. *Amarna Letters*, No. 41. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 69.

In view of these facts the tardy Egyptian government could not ignore the situation longer, and sent the messenger Khani to call Aziru to account. Aziru, who seems to have bribed somebody to keep him informed, disappeared from the scene before the summons could be served upon him, and took up his residence in Tunip. Here he remained till he had news of Khani's departure. Then he returned, and wrote a letter to the Pharaoh expressing great regret that an attack by the Hittites had compelled him to be absent when the royal messenger arrived; and that, in spite of all haste, he had not returned in time to meet him. To all charges made against him he had good answers. He had occupied the cities because it was necessary to defend them against the Hittites. Simyra had been destroyed to prevent its falling into the hands of the king's enemies, but he would rebuild it shortly. Rib-Addi was a dangerous character who was betraying the interests of Egypt, and Aziru begged that he might be removed and a responsible man appointed in his place. In regard to the summons to come to Egypt, nothing would please him better than to look upon the face of his lord, the king; but the danger to the king's lands from the Hittites was too great for him to risk leaving home this year.

Amenhotep did not hesitate to tell Aziru that he knew all these words were lies, but he took no active measures to bring him to account. He was a peace-loving monarch, who liked better to amuse himself with his wives and children and his religious reforms than to lead expeditions for the pacification

of the provinces. Rib-Addi, accordingly, and others like him, who were sincerely loyal, were left to shift for themselves. Letters of complaint soon ceased to come from them. They were either slain, or were compelled to go over to the Amorites and their allies, the Hittites and the Khabiri. Before the death of Amenhotep all Syria had passed out of Egyptian control. The northern tier of states was in the possession of the Hittites, while in the southern states, as far as Tyre and Galilee, Abd-Ashirta and his sons had established an Amorite kingdom. In all parts of the country the Khabiri had effected permanent settlements, and dwelt in peace as confederates of the Amorites. In the exploits of Aziru we see the beginning of a migration that reached its height a century later. Ramessu III. found the Amorites settled still farther south, and here also they were encountered by Israel.

In Palestine the confusion induced by the new migrations was as great as in Syria. The Hittites, it is true, had not yet touched this region ; but the Khabiri were present in proportionately greater force. As in the North, political interests were divided, some believing that it was best to hold to the Egyptian government, others preferring to side with the Khabiri, and still others holding aloof from both parties and striving to gain profit for themselves out of the general disorder.

A certain Lapaya in the region of the later Judæa sought to emulate the example of Aziru and to found, with the help of the Khabiri, an independent state. His chief opponent was Abd-khiba, prefect of Jeru-

salem, who played much the same part in the South that Rib-Addi played in the North. Nine letters from him were found in the archives of Tell-el-Amarna, in which he begs the Pharaoh to send aid quickly, or Egyptian rule will be at an end. The urgency of the situation and the sincerity of Abd-khiba's appeal are strikingly evinced by the post-script that he adds to one of his letters: "To the scribe of my lord, the king, Abd-khiba thy servant: read these words plainly before my lord, the king: all the lands of my lord, the king, are perishing."

The action of the Egyptian government in the case of Lapaya was prompter and more effective than in the case of Aziru. He was expelled from his territory, and was obliged to live the life of a freebooter. Subsequently, he was captured by his enemies and sent to Egypt to answer for his rebellion, but on the way he escaped and resumed his former career. Not long after he died, or was murdered; but his death did nothing to check the progress of the rebellion or the victorious advance of the Khabiri. Abd-khiba's appealing letters soon ceased, as Rib-Addi's had done. Either he was destroyed by his enemies, or concluded that no help could come from Egypt, and that it was wiser to follow the example of his neighbours and go over to the Khabiri.

It is clear that under Amenhotep IV. Egyptian rule in Syria and Palestine was hastening to its fall. The only thing that could have saved it was the despatching of a great army into these regions. Instead of this Amenhotep sent only little companies of soldiers to the aid of particular friends, trusting to

the moral impression that these reinforcements would make. With the Canaanites, who had felt the power of Egyptian vengeance, this method was efficacious; but it was useless with the Hittites or the Khabiri, who had neither respect nor fear for Egypt. They massacred the garrisons without compunction, and took possession of the king's cities. When vassals went over to them, instead of chastising them himself, Amenhotep intrusted their punishment to loyal neighbours. Thus Syria was plunged into civil strife, and blood-feuds were engendered that made the pacification of the land an impossibility. The Egyptian officials, realizing that revolution was impending at home, and that the provinces would soon be lost, made the best of their position to plunder the natives and to misrepresent at court everyone who would not win their favour through bribes. The situation was hopeless. Under existing conditions it was impossible for Egypt to retain her supremacy. A new monarch must come to the throne, and the political conditions be improved at home, before even an attempt could be made to regain the lost territory.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE OF THE ARAMÆAN NATIONS

1376–1160 B.C.

ABOUT 1376 B.C. Amenhotep IV. died. As he left no sons, he was succeeded by Sakere, the husband of his daughter Mertaten, whom during his lifetime he had associated with him in the government. The change of rulers was the signal for the outbreak of hostility against the newly established Aten-worship. Sakere, who remained loyal to the teaching of his father-in-law, was forced from the throne by the Theban priesthood, and Tutankhaten, the husband of Ankhsenaten, a second daughter of Amenhotep IV., was made king. He conciliated the orthodox party by abjuring Aten, and by changing his own name to Tut-ankhamen, and his wife's name to Ankhsenamen. He abandoned Tell-el-Amarna, and allowed its palaces and temples to fall into ruin. Externally he was a zealous worshipper of Amen, whose temples he reopened, and whose cult he supported. Ay, his successor, had been a high official at the court of Amenhotep IV.; but on becoming king, he also professed himself a worshipper of Amen and did his best to undo the work of reformation.

None of these kings reigned long, and none was

able to regain the confidence of the nation or of the powerful priesthood of Amen. Egypt was torn with religious dissensions, and it seemed likely that it would speedily break up into a number of independent states. Under these circumstances interference in the politics of Western Asia was an impossibility. Syria soon fell completely into the hands of the Hittites, who were now united in a confederation under the leadership of a king called Sapalulu. So firmly did they establish themselves that, long after their empire had passed away and the Aramæans had taken their place, the Assyrians continued to call Syria "the land of the Hittites."

The regions east of the Jordan were seized by the Aramæan Bedawin ; and as these gradually amalgamated with the older population and adopted its language and customs, the nations of Moab and Ammon came into being. Inasmuch as the older name of the country was Lotan (Egyptian Ruten, or Luten), these peoples were known in Hebrew tradition as the children of Lotan or Lot, and through unconscious puns on their names the story arose that they were born of incest.[1] West of the Jordan certain tribes of the Khabiri obtained a foothold, but the fortresses of Canaan were so strong that they could not effect a complete conquest.

The bulk of the Aramæans remained nomads in the Syrian desert and in the desert south of Canaan. In the latter region the tribes were known by the collective name of Abraham. In union with the older inhabitants of the region, Hagar, Keturah, and

[1] Gen xix. 30–38.

Sarah, they gave rise to three groups of peoples: Ishmael, dwelling to the east; Midian, in the centre, and Isaac to the west. The Isaac group was reinforced by new Aramæan immigrants, as we know from the story of the marriage of Isaac with Rebekah, the sister of Laban, the Aramæan. Isaac was subdivided in its turn into Edom and Israel, of which the former occupied the region south of the Dead Sea, and the latter the region between the Isthmus of Suez and the south of Canaan. This was the land of Goshen, in which, according to J, our oldest Pentateuchal source, the forefathers of Israel were permitted to dwell by the king of Egypt.

In course of time certain Israelitish clans, probably the Rachel tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, penetrated beyond the Isthmus; it is not likely, however, that the people as a whole migrated to Egypt. The Pentateuchal narrative presupposes that Kadesh was already in its hands at the time of the exodus, and the fewness of the sojourners in Egypt is shown by the fact that two midwives sufficed for their needs.[1]

The Pharaoh Ay died without leaving an heir, and the throne was seized by Horemheb, commander of the army (*c.* 1370). He abolished the cult of Aten, and sought to reform the administration of Egypt. For the provinces he was able to do nothing, as home affairs were too pressing. With Sapalulu, king of the Hittites, he was content to make a treaty determining the boundary between the two empires. Of her former possessions in Asia only Palestine now remained to Egypt, and even here her tenure was

[1] Ex. i. 15.

hardly more than nominal. As in the time of Amenhotep IV., some of the princes saw fit to pay tribute, while others openly refused to do so. The same internal strife and conflict with the marauding Bedawin that are depicted in the Amarna letters doubtless continued. Nevertheless, under Horemheb Egypt recovered in some measure from her weakness, and began to summon up her energy for an attempt to reconquer Syria and Palestine.

Ramessu I., the founder of the XIXth dynasty (*c.* 1353), reigned too short a time to effect a change in the political situation; but his son and successor, Sety I., undertook the task of restoring the empire of the XVIIIth dynasty. The condition of Palestine at the time of his accession is thus described in one of his inscriptions: "The vile Shasu (Bedawin) had plotted rebellion. The chieftains of their tribes had established themselves within the region of Kharu (Palestine). They were smitten with blindness and with the desire for violence. They slew one another." In this description it is impossible not to recognize a continuation of the state of affairs depicted in the Amarna letters, after Palestine had been invaded by the Khabiri, Suti, and other Aramæan tribes.

During the interval that had elapsed since the death of Amenhotep IV. the disorder had grown continually greater, and now Sety determined to undertake a great campaign and to expel the Bedawin from the regions that they had seized.[1] Falling

[1] See Lushington, "The Victories of Seti I.," *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæology*, vi., p. 509; and Guieysse, *Recueil de Travaux*, xi., p. 52.

suddenly upon Southern Palestine, he defeated them and captured their strongholds. Multitudes were slain or were taken captive, and the survivors were compelled to retire into the desert. Order was once more restored, and the danger of an Aramæan occupation of the country was temporarily averted. Egyptian rule was re-established, as under the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty, and tribute once more began to flow into the Egyptian coffers.

In an inscription of Sety we meet for the first time 'A-sa-ru (Asher),[1] a Canaanite or Amorite tribe that subsequently was adopted into the Hebrew confederacy and was classified as a son of Jacob by his concubine Zilpah. It stood thus on a lower level than the pure Hebrew tribes that were regarded as sons of the wives.

Having effected the reconquest of Palestine, Sety attempted to break up the Amorite confederacy that had been formed by Aziru and his successors in the valley of the Orontes. He succeeded in capturing Yenoam and Qadesh, and he subdued the region of Lebanon, compelling the inhabitants to fell timber for him to transport to Egypt. This brought him into conflict with the Hittites, who at this time were probably under the rule of Maurasera, the successor of Sapalulu. Sety records a victory over them; but if it really occurred, it was fruitless, since he was glad presently to make a treaty recognizing the old boundaries between the two empires.

Ramessu II., the son and successor of Sety I. (*c.* 1324), invaded Palestine in the second year of his

[1] Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 236 ff.

reign, and advanced as far as the Lykos River (Nahr el Kelb), between Gebal and Beirut, where he set up an inscription that is still extant commemorating his victories. In his fourth year he revisited this spot and erected a second inscription. A third tablet in the same place bears no date. At Sa'diyeh, a village east of the Sea of Galilee, is a monument, known to the natives as "the Stone of Job," which has recently been found to bear his cartouche.[1] These monuments are evidence that he retained the regions conquered by his father, and that he pushed the Egyptian boundary somewhat farther northward into the territory of the Amorites.

In the early part of Ramessu's reign Maurasera, king of the Hittites, died and was succeeded by his son Mautallu. Soon after he was murdered by his brother Khatesera. This gave Ramessu an excuse for renewing hostilities. In his fifth year he set out with an immense army. Besides the regular troops, he had bodies of mercenaries gathered from various parts of the Mediterranean coast. Conspicuous among these were the Shardana (Sardinians?) whom we have found mentioned already in the Amarna letters.[2]

The king of the Hittites realized that this was to be a life or death struggle, and summoned all his allies to his aid. Among the Syrians mention is made of the people of Naharina, Carchemish, Arvad, and Anaugasa. From Asia Minor came the people of Qidawadana, Mushant, Luka (Lycians), Dardeny (Dardanians?), Yewanna (Ionians?), Masa (Mysians?),

[1] See the literature on p. xxxii. [2] See p. 82.

Pidasa, Gargisha. The allies entrenched themselves near Qadesh, the famous stronghold of the Amorites, where so many previous battles had been fought for the mastery of Syria, and thither Ramessu advanced with his forces. Our two sources of information in regard to this campaign are the standard inscription, which Ramessu had engraved on a number of his buildings, and a poem celebrating his exploits in the battle of Qadesh, which has come down to us in a copy made by the royal scribe Pentaur, the so-called *Sallier Papyrus III.*[1] Both of these are couched in high-flown language and are full of absurd exaggeration, still they allow us to trace with reasonable exactness the main events of the war.

With four divisions of the army Ramessu traversed Palestine and came without opposition as far as the lake of the land of the Amorites, *i.e.*, perhaps, the Waters of Merom. Here he left one division in camp, and pushed forward with the rest as far as Shabatuna, a town a little to the south of Qadesh. No signs of the enemy were discovered as yet, and therefore he determined to encamp two more divisions and to reconnoitre with the fourth. As he was advancing, certain Bedawin fell in with him, who reported that they were deserters from the king of the Hittites, and that he was stationed at Khalbu (Aleppo), more than a hundred miles to the north. Ramessu believed them, and, passing Qadesh, advanced without fear. Presently, however, two spies were captured, who, on being beaten with rods, confessed that the king of the

[1] See Guieysse, *Recueil de Travaux*, viii., p. 120; Lushington, *Records of the Past*, ii., p. 67.

Hittites was lying in ambush in the immediate neighbourhood. Ramessu had barely time to form his division into battle-array, and to despatch couriers to hasten those in the rear, before Khatesera was upon him with all his forces. The danger was great, for at the first furious onset the Egyptians gave way, and Ramessu was left almost alone in the midst of the enemy. According to his own account he fought single-handed against 25,000 chariots, bearing each three warriors; and at last turned the tide of battle, and forced the enemy back into the river. Reinforcements came up, and the threatened defeat was turned into a victory. Many of the Hittite leaders perished, among them Kherapasera, "the writer of letters," *i.e.*, the official scribe of the Hittite king. The fugitives took refuge in Qadesh, and the following day ambassadors came out to sue for peace. Ramessu must have lost heavily and have feared to undertake a protracted siege of the city, for he hastily concluded a treaty, and retired to Egypt without attempting to continue the campaign. Nothing permanent had been accomplished, but this did not prevent him from celebrating his wonderful victory in inscriptions so grandiloquent that they deceived later generations, and made them believe that Sesostris (Ramessu II.) was the greatest conqueror of Egyptian history.

The following years were marked by continual conflict with the Hittites. In the eighth year they succeeded in inciting the towns of Galilee to revolt, and Ramessu was obliged to reduce Marama (Merom), Biti-Aniti (Beth-Anath), Karaput, Shalama, and other cities of Palestine before he could reach his old

enemy. Dapur in the land of the Amorites offered a specially stubborn resistance, and was captured only after a lengthy siege. In spite of this success, there was a revolt the following year in the South with Ashkelon as its centre. This outbreak was quelled, however, and at some time during this period he succeeded in carrying his arms against the Hittites as far as Tunep in Northern Syria, a place which we have already met frequently in the earlier history. On the strength of this achievement he ascribed to himself all the glory of Tahutimes III., and enumerated in his lists of conquered places Carchemish, Mitanni, Shinar, Assyria, and Manni (east of Lake Van). It is doubtful, however, whether he even received presents from these regions. Far from subduing them, he did not even effect the conquest of Syria, for after this expedition it remained in the control of the Hittites just as it had been before.

In his twenty-first year both the Hittites and the Egyptians grew weary of the protracted struggle and resolved to make peace with one another. After the preliminary negotiations had been concluded, Tare-Tishubu, the Hittite ambassador, appeared at the Egyptian capital with a silver tablet on which was engraved the treaty to which Khatesera agreed. Presumably a similar tablet was forwarded by the Pharaoh. A free Egyptian translation of this important document has fortunately come down to us on one of the walls of the temple of Karnak.[1] It be-

[1] Goodwin, *Records of the Past*, iv., p. 27; Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 518; Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 438; Krall in Scala, *Die Staatsverträge des Alterthums*, i., p. 6.

gan with an account of the relations between Egypt and Khatesera's predecessors. Then it proceeded to state the intention of the king of the Hittites to maintain peace with the king of Egypt, and to formulate the conditions that were to be observed by both monarchs. In case of war breaking out between either of the contracting parties and another nation, they agreed to come in person to the aid of their ally, or to send troops under the command of one of their generals. They promised not to extend their domains at one another's expense, and to refuse all overtures from rebellious subjects. Workmen were forbidden to emigrate from one country to the other, and escaped criminals were to be returned. The treaty was placed under the protection of the gods of Egypt and the gods of the land of the Hittites, and was sealed with the great seals of the king and of the queen of the Hittites.

Ramessu was pleased to regard this treaty as the consummation of a victory, but it is clear from its terms that the two powers stood on exactly the same footing, and that the *status quo* was recognized as binding for the future. As a result of twenty years of fighting he had gained at the most only a small strip of territory in Galilee and the promise of the Hittites not to invade Palestine. In exchange for this he was compelled henceforth to renounce his claim upon Syria.

In his thirty-fourth year he married the daughter of Khatesera, and in consideration of her rank made her queen, although she was not of the stock of Amen. So cordial were the relations between the two na-

tions that the king of the Hittites made a visit to Egypt, where he was received with great rejoicing.

During the remainder of Ramessu's long reign Syria and Palestine lived in peace and had a chance to recuperate from the effects of a century of warfare. The king himself had leisure to engage in extensive building operations. He enlarged the temple of Luqsor and completed the hypostyle hall of the temple of Karnak. East of Thebes he erected the edifice known as the Ramesseum, and in Nubia he hewed a number of temples out of the solid rock.

Another important undertaking was the erection of store-cities near the eastern frontier, in which provisions might be gathered for the troops that were to be despatched to Palestine. One of these cities at Tell-el-Maskhuta was excavated by Naville in 1883, and in it were found the names both of Ramessu II. and of the place Pi-Tum. This is evidently the Pithom of Ex. i. 11, which the children of Israel built for Pharaoh; and together with Raamses, the other store-city mentioned in the same passage, it proves that the Pharaoh of the oppression was Ramessu II. For his building operations this king needed large levies of workmen, and it was natural that he should seek to press into service the nomadic clans of Israel that had strayed within his border. That Israel is not mentioned in any of his inscriptions is not surprising, since it formed only an insignificant part of the *corvée.*

Ramessu was succeeded by his son Merenptah (*c.* 1258), who continued the policy of friendship with the Hittites inaugurated by his father. He

even went so far in a time of famine as to send grain to Syria for the relief of his allies.

In the fifth year of his reign the Libyans of the North African coast and "the peoples of the coasts of the sea" combined to invade Egypt. Among the Sea-peoples are mentioned the Aqaywasha (Achæans), Luka (Lycians), Tursha (Tyreni, Tuscans?), Shakalsha (inhabitants of Sagalassos in Asia Minor?), and Shardana (Sardinians?). A great migration of the races of Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor was in progress, induced probably by the general southward movement of European tribes that brought the Dorians into Greece.[1]

To the reign of Merenptah a number of historians assign the exodus of the children of Israel. This theory is very uncertain, since there is nothing in the Old Testament which indicates that the Pharaoh of the exodus was the immediate successor of the Pharaoh of the oppression. The personal names of these Pharaohs have not been preserved, and unfortunately there are no chronological data by means of which we can determine with certainty the time of their reigns.

The tradition which underlies 1 Chron. vi. 4–9; Gen. xxxvi. 31–39; 1 Kings vi. 1 assumes twelve generations in the line of primogeniture from Moses to Solomon. If, following the analogy of the kings of Judah and of the first three dynasties of Babylon, we allow twenty years for a generation, we reach 1200 B.C. as the approximate date of the exodus.

[1] Birch, *Records of the Past*, iv., p. 39; Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 567.

This fulfils the condition of falling after the reign of Ramessu II. (1324–1258), but it also falls after the reign of Merenptah (1258–1238).

In the year 1896 Petrie discovered at Thebes an inscription in which occurs the only reference to Israel found as yet in the Egyptian monuments. The latter portion of this record reads as follows:

> "No one among the Nine Bows (*i.e.*, the foreign nations) raises his head. Tekhonu (the Libyans) are destroyed; Khate (the Hittites) are at peace; Pa-kan'ana (Canaan) is captive in every evil (?). Ashkelon is carried into captivity; Gezer is taken; Yenoam is annihilated; Israel is destroyed, its crops are no more; Kharu (Southern Palestine) has become like the widows of Egypt. All the lands are in peace together. Every robber has been conquered by King Merenptah, who like the sun, gives life each day."[1]

Interesting as this inscription is, it throws no light upon the date of the exodus. Since Israel is classified among the Nine Bows, or foreign barbarians, and is mentioned in connection with places in Southern Palestine, it is clear that Merenptah did not find it in Egypt. Some have inferred from this fact that the exodus had already taken place; and others, that Israel was already in possession of the land of Canaan. Neither of these conclusions is warranted. This Israel was probably the portion of the race which did not go down into Egypt, and its abode was not Canaan, but the region between Egypt and Canaan, where, according to Old Testament tradition, the forefathers dwelt. Egyptian rule in Palestine did not cease until after the eighth year of Ramessu III. (*c.* 1200); it is diffi-

[1] See the literature given on p. xxxiii.

cult to believe, therefore, that during the reign of Merenptah Israel could have effected an entrance into the promised land. If the defeat here recorded had taken place later than the organization of Israel into a nation, some memory of it would probably have lingered in tradition. The lack of such recollection points rather to a time prior to the union of the sojourners in Egypt with their brethren in the desert. In view of these facts it seems to me unlikely that the exodus is to be placed earlier than the period of anarchy which intervened between Merenptah and Ramessu III.

In a document of the eighth year of Merenptah[1] we meet the first mention of Edom. Here an official reports that permission has been given certain Edomites[2] to pass within the frontier. The passage reads as follows:

> "A further matter for the gratification of the heart of my lord: we have permitted the Bedawi tribes of 'Aduma (Edom) to pass the fortress of King Merenptah in Thuku (Succoth) to the pools of Pithom (?) of King Merenptah which are in Thuku, that they may obtain food for themselves and for their cattle in the field of the Pharaoh, who is the gracious sun in every land."

This passage is interesting, not merely as an illustration of the way in which some of the tribes of Israel took the road into Egypt, but also as showing that Edom stood on the same plane of civilization

[1] *Papyrus Anastasi*, vi. 4, 14; Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 135.

[2] Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, i., p. 189, holds that these are not Edomites, but people of the town 'Aduma mentioned in the Amarna letters.

as the contemporary Israel. Both peoples were nomadic, and both were ready to move on short notice into any region that offered better pasture. In such settlers we see a part of the "mixed multitude" which, according to Hebrew tradition,[1] accompanied the Israelites in their exodus.

The death of Merenptah was followed by a period of anarchy. Sety II., Amenmessu, Siptah, and Arisu, who followed one another in close succession, cannot have reigned more than twenty years altogether. The state of Egypt during this period is described in the *Harris Papyrus*, which dates from the reign of Ramessu III.[2]

"The land of Egypt had fallen into confusion; everyone did what he pleased. For many years they had no ruler who had authority over them. The land was in the hands of the nobles, and the princes of the provinces were lords of the land; in pride and arrogance (?) they slew each the other. The people lived in exile, the land belonged to aliens. Arisu, a native of Kharu (Palestine), made himself prince; the land paid him tribute. Everyone allied himself with his neighbour to plunder. The gods fared no better than men; no offerings were brought into their temples."

Arisu was evidently not a foreign conqueror, such as the Hyksos had been; but was a royal official of Syrian origin who succeeded in usurping the throne. It was natural that he should care nothing for the rights of the Egyptians, and that he should renew the attempt made by Amenhotep III. to break the ever-increasing power of the Theban priesthood.

[1] Ex. xii. 38.

[2] Eisenlohr-Birch, *Records of the Past*, viii., p. 46; Erman, *Egypt*, p. 49.

In this period of political and religious confusion we find the most probable time for the exodus of the Israelites. The successors of Merenptah were too feeble to oppose successfully the revolt of any subject people. Traditions preserved by Greek historians seem to show that insurrections of foreign slaves were frequent during their reigns.

The leader in the escape was Moses. The correctness of the tradition which places his birth in Egypt is shown by his name. Moshe (Moses) is the Egyptian word *mesu*, "child," which occurs as an element in the names of several Pharaohs.

The account of his flight and of his long residence in the neighbourhood of Sinai is unquestionably historical. Only thus can we understand why this mountain was the goal of the Israelites at the time of their escape. Such a movement as the exodus would have been impossible, if some understanding had not been reached previously with the tribes dwelling in the desert.

Since the sixth century of the Christian era Sinai has been identified with Jebel Musa in the southern point of the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula, but no trace of this tradition can be found in earlier times. All the Old Testament indications point to a location much nearer both to Egypt and to Canaan. Ex. v. 3 suggests that it was only three days journey from Egypt; and such passages as Jud. v. 4 f., 1 Kings xix. 8, Deut. xxxiii. 2, Hab. iii. 3 indicate that it is to be sought on the southern border of Canaan in the region later occupied by Edom.[1] Probably it was in

[1] Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, p. 188.

the vicinity of Kadesh Barnea, the centre of the Leah tribes, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, before the exodus, and the centre of the Hebrew confederacy after the migration of the Rachel tribes. Kadesh is with Rowlands[1] and Trumbull[2] to be identified with 'Ain Qadis, a copious spring, situated about fifty miles due south of Beersheba, in the Wady Qadis, a branch of the Wady esh-Sheraif. The oasis which surrounds this spring is the only spot between Egypt and Palestine that is able to sustain a considerable population, and strategically it is the natural starting-point for an attack on Canaan.

In early days Sinai, as its name indicates, was a seat of the cult of the Babylonian god Sin, but in the time of Moses it was the sanctuary of Yahweh.[3] In regard to the relation of the pre-Mosaic Israel to Yahweh our sources disagree. Two of the Pentateuchal documents assert that he was not known to the forefathers,[4] and in consistency with this theory avoid the use of his name in the Patriarchal history. A third document represents the name Yahweh as in use from the beginning.[5] This discrepancy can probably be explained by the assumption that the Rachel tribes did not come into contact with the religion of Yahweh before the exodus, while the Leah tribes, which had dwelt in the neighbourhood of Sinai since the time of the Aramæan migration, began to know

[1] In the appendix to Williams, *The Holy City*, 1845.

[2] *Kadesh Barnea*, 1884.

[3] The name Jehovah (Yehowah) is formed by reading the vowels of the word Adonay, "Lord," with the consonants of Yahweh.

[4] P, Ex. vi. 2; E, Ex. iii. 13 f.

[5] J, Gen. iv. 26.

the god of this mountain at a much earlier date. In any case it is clear that Yahweh was not originally the god of Israel, but only became such in consequence of the work of Moses and of the events of the exodus. As to the primitive meaning of his name and the origin of his worship we are wholly in the dark. The Pentateuchal narrative indicates in numerous ways that Sinai was his home long before the time of Moses, and a number of proper names suggest the possibility that he was a deity of Canaan prior to the Aramæan migration.

The sanctuary of Mount Sinai was in possession of the Midianites, a people closely akin to Israel, which they regarded as descended from their forefather Abraham through his wife Keturah.[1] The Priest of Midian, who presumably was the custodian of the shrine of Sinai, received Moses hospitably, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Thus from the moment that he left Egypt he was brought into intimate relations with the religion of Yahweh.

The Midianites were merchants who exchanged the products of Egypt for those of Syria and of Arabia.[2] In the religious centre of the tribe and in the family of one of its leading men, Moses was kept informed of the condition of his kinsmen in Egypt, and of the disorder that prevailed in Palestine. With this knowledge the desire wakened within him to bring out the tribes that were in Egypt, to form a confederacy with the clans in the desert, and to make a fresh attempt to conquer the land flowing with milk

[1] Gen. xxv. 2. [2] Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36; Num. x. 31.

and honey, in which the Khabiri forefathers had been for a while sojourners.

This was the psychological preparation for the divine revelation that presently came to him. While he was tending the flock of his father-in-law, Yahweh appeared to him, as later to Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, in an inaugural vision, and gave him the commission to deliver Israel, and to lead it into the land of Canaan. In the strength of this experience he returned to Egypt, where he succeeded in winning the belief of the people that he was a prophet sent by the god of Sinai. He demanded of the Pharaoh permission for Israel to journey into the desert to sacrifice to Yahweh. At first this request was refused; but in consequence of a series of catastrophes, the Pharaoh at last grew alarmed and gave Israel permission to depart.

In the time of Moses the Sea of Sedge or Bitter Lake (in our version rendered Red Sea) was still connected with the Red Sea. There was thus only a narrow strip of land between its northern end and the swamps that surrounded the eastern mouth of the Nile. This passage was guarded by a line of Egyptian fortifications, and fearing to pass them, the Israelites turned southward. They were pursued by the chariotry of the Pharaoh, who had repented of his permission for them to leave the country. Shut in between the sea and the enemy, their destruction seemed inevitable, but at the critical moment deliverance came. A strong east wind that blew all night[1] drove back the shallow water of the Sea of Sedge to

[1] Ex. xiv. 21.

such an extent that the fugitives were able to ford the channel connecting it with the Red Sea and thus to make their escape. In this event Moses and the people saw indisputable evidence that Yahweh was in truth with them, and that he was more powerful than all the gods of Egypt.

Full of holy enthusiasm, the Israelites, according to the earliest tradition, proceeded at once to the oasis of Kadesh and effected a union with the tribes that were already settled in this region. The story of the wonders that Yahweh had wrought awakened the conviction of their kinsmen, and together they made a pilgrimage to the neighbouring shrine at Sinai.

Here Moses embraced the opportunity to unite the scattered and frequently hostile tribes into a nation on the basis of a common religion. Israel's relation to Yahweh was unique. As we have just seen, he was not an ancestral god who stood in a natural and necessary relation to his people, like the gods of other Semitic tribes; but he was the god of Sinai and of Midian, who had come into connection with Israel only through his own free, moral choice. Israel belonged to him, not by birth, but by election. Its existence and its continuance were dependent upon his sovereign good pleasure, and he might cast it off as easily as he had adopted it. Under these circumstances he had the right to make conditions upon which his favour should depend such as other gods could not make. This fact does not explain the ethical character of the Mosaic religion; it explains only why an ethical religion was promulgated at

this particular time. The peculiar relation of Israel to Yahweh was the appropriate historical situation for the imparting of a new conception of the holiness of God; the origin of that conception, however, cannot be found in any natural antecedents, but only in the mystery of divine self-revelation. Through this revelation the religion of Israel was placed from the first upon an ethical basis. This was the fundamental difference between it and the religions of other Semitic peoples, and it was the secret of its unique later development.

The solemn compact at Sinai having been concluded, by which Yahweh became the god of Israel and Israel became a nation, Moses wisely decided not to attempt at once the invasion of Canaan. Time was needed for the new religion to exert its influence upon the wild clans, and for them to become conscious of the unity involved in allegiance to one God, before they could enter upon a career of conquest. Accordingly, he took up his abode at Kadesh, the old centre of the Leah tribes, and devoted his life to the consolidation of the results that he had already achieved. Here he established an oracle of Yahweh which was consulted in all disputes between tribes and between individuals, and through it he gave decisions that carried with them the formidable sanction of religion. These oracular decisions (*toroth*) soon constituted a body of precedents on which later jurisprudence depended.

The task of Moses during the years at Kadesh was not light. The increased numbers of Israel demanded the acquisition of new pasture-grounds, and

war had to be waged with the Amalekites, the pre-Aramæan inhabitants of the region. Jealousies were inevitable between the Leah tribes and the newly arrived Rachel tribes. Each claimed the right of leadership, and Moses had difficulty in keeping the peace. He himself belonged apparently to one of the Rachel tribes, and in Num. xvi. 12, 14, 15b (J) we have an account of an attack made upon his authority by the Reubenites. It was hard also to restrain the impetuous desire of the people to fall at once upon Canaan, and certain clans did in fact attempt, with disaster to themselves, to force an entrance from the south. Over all these obstacles his inspired genius triumphed, bringing order out of confusion, and welding the tribes gradually into one people. In the quiet years of waiting at Kadesh we see the greatness of the man quite as much as in the stirring events of the exodus.

About this time the clans of Edom must also have united. The list of Gen. xxxvi. 31–39 places the first king of Edom eight generations before Saul, the first king of Israel; and this corresponds with the generation after the exodus. Bela, son of Beor, the first king of Edom, according to the list, can hardly be another than Balaam, son of Beor, who opposed Israel in the land east of the Jordan.[1] We must suppose, therefore, that, influenced by the example of Israel, or under pressure of similar historical conditions, the Edomites formed a confederation and submitted to the rule of a single leader. From the facts that the kings of this list were not the sons of their predeces-

[1] See p. 152.

sors, and that they came from different portions of the land, it seems clear that at first the monarchy was elective. The title "king" applied to these rulers forbids the assumption that they were merely temporary military leaders like the "judges" of Israel. In the time of Moses Moab also is said to have had a king.[1] The Aramæans possessed, it is clear, a greater genius for political organization than did their predecessors, the Canaanites, and to this fact they owed their success in conquering and in retaining new territory.

Meanwhile a restorer of order had arisen in Egypt. Setnekht, the founder of the XXth dynasty, slew the rebels in the Delta, reduced the princes of the nomes to submission, re-established the endowments of the temples, and put Egypt once more in a place of influence among the nations.

After a brief reign he was succeeded by his son Ramessu III. (*c.* 1204), whose one ambition was to rival the glory of his great namesake Ramessu II. In his fifth year the Libyans again made an incursion, similar to the one that they had made in the time of Merenptah; but Ramessu defeated them with a slaughter of over 10,000 men. In his eighth year the Sea-peoples, who also had menaced Egypt in the reign of Merenptah, renewed their attack. Under ever-increasing pressure of the Moschi, Phrygians, Dorians, and other Aryan tribes advancing from the North and the West, the ancient peoples of Asia Minor were forced to seek new homes. Partly by sea in large open boats, and partly by land in rude

[1] Num. xxii. 4.

carts with solid wheels drawn by four oxen, they poured into Syria with their wives and their children. Among them came the Shakalsha, whom we have met already in the time of Merenptah, and also the Danauna (Danaoi ?), Zakkala, Washasha, and the Purasate, or Pulasate.

There is little doubt that the last name is to be identified with the Philistines, and that in this people we see the forefathers of the nation with which Israel struggled for the possession of Canaan. According to Gen. x. 14 ; Deut. ii. 23 ; Amos. ix. 7; Jer. xlvii. 4 the Philistines were not indigenous in Palestine, but had migrated within the memory of Israel from Caphtor (according to many authorities Crete, according to others the southern coast of Asia Minor).[1]

These peoples swept everything before them. The kingdom of the Hittites that had flourished for over four generations was broken up into a number of small states that never again succeeded in forming a confederation. Carchemish, Arvad, and Qadesh on the Orontes fell into their hands. Then they pushed southward with the design of conquering Egypt.

Ramessu III. gathered all the forces that he could muster by land and by sea and went to meet them. Somewhere on the Phœnician coast a decisive engagement was fought. The battle was stubborn,

[1] The name Caphtor has been found in a late Egyptian text, *cf.* Sayce, *Higher Criticism*, p. 173. The identity of Caphtor with Kefto of the earlier Egyptian monuments is rendered probable by the occurrence of the Philistine name Achish in a list of Kefto names, *cf.* Müller, *Mitteil. d. vorderas. Gesellschaft*, v. 1. The Philistine royal title, *soren*, is probably connected etymologically with the Greek word *turannos*.

but the Sea-people were at last forced to give way before the superior discipline of the Egyptian mercenaries. On land their army was defeated, and in the final conflict about the wagons the men were slain and the women and children were taken prisoners. The Egyptian land-troops were then able to go to the aid of the navy, and by their arrows shot from the shore assisted in the capture of the enemy's galleys. The victory was complete, and the remnant of the invaders was compelled to fall back upon Northern Syria, whither Ramessu did not venture to follow them. The names of Carchemish, Tunep, Khalbu, Pabukh, Arvad, Khate, Mitanni, and Asi (Cyprus), which he enumerates as subject peoples in his triumphal lists at the Memnonium of Medinet Habu are borrowed from the inscriptions of his predecessors, and represent no actual conquests. If he had really visited these regions, he would have had something to say about them in his Annals. Under Ramessu III. the boundary of the Egyptian possessions in Asia remained just where it had been at the conclusion of peace between Ramessu II. and Khatesera.

On his return, apparently, from the campaign against the Sea-people, Ramessu attacked the Bedawin of Sa'ira (Seir), and carried off many captives. The inference from this name that Edom had not yet conquered Mount Seir (*cf.* Deut. ii. 12, 22)[1] is not warranted. The old name might continue to be used by the Egyptians even after the land had been occupied by a new race.

[1] Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 135 f.

This is the last recorded campaign of an Egyptian king in Palestine until the time of Shishak, the contemporary of Rehoboam (931). Except for another war with the Libyans, Ramessu spent the rest of his life in inglorious peace, and Egyptian prestige declined as rapidly as in the days of Amenhotep IV. The remaining kings of the dynasty, who all bore the name of Ramessu, were little more than puppets in the hands of the priests of Amen at Thebes, and under Ramessu XII. Khrikhor, the high priest, seized the throne. With Ramessu III. the history of Egyptian rule in Asia is at an end. From this time onward the Pharaohs had all that they could do to defend themselves, without thinking of foreign dominion. The way was now open for Israel and for other peoples to attempt the conquest of Syria and Palestine, as the Khabiri had attempted it two centuries before; and the result was, that soon after 1200 B.C. great changes were made in the political geography of Western Asia.

Under pressure of the hordes of Asia Minor, whose advance Ramessu III. had checked only temporarily, the Hittites crowded upon the Amorites, whom during the XIXth and XXth dynasties we have met in Southern Syria on the head waters of the Orontes, forcing them to migrate southward. They entered Canaan and established themselves in the northern mountain-country. Here they were found by Israel at the time of the conquest. For their geographical distribution it is significant that only the North Israelitish writings E and Amos speak of them as aborigines of the land. The Hivites, whom the Is-

raelites found in possession of Gibeon, Shechem, and the adjacent regions, are in Gen. xxxiv. 2; xlviii. 22; Josh. ix.; 2 Sam. xxiv. 7 identified with the Amorites. The Jebusites, who were in possession of Jerusalem, according to Josh. x. 5, were also Amorites. East of the Jordan they drove back the Hebraic peoples Moab and Ammon, which had been established there since the time of the Khabiri migration, and founded the kingdoms of Sihon and of Og.[1] The former of these extended from the Arnon to the Jabbok, the latter from the Jabbok to the foot of Hermon.

From the time of the Amarna letters to the time of Ramessu III. the Hittites stood in confederation with the Amorites; it is not surprising, therefore, that they should have accompanied them in their southward migration. Numerous references in the Old Testament make it difficult to doubt that certain clans, at least, of this race obtained a foothold in Canaan prior to the Hebrew conquest.

Contemporaneous with the Amorite advance was the arrival of the Philistines upon the coast. Before the XXth dynasty we find no trace of this people in Canaan. Early in the reign of Ramessu III. the Pulasate (Philistines) and their kinsmen the Zakkala are seen moving out of Asia Minor with the migration of Sea-peoples. Their occupation of the Shephelah, accordingly, cannot be placed much, if any, before 1200. On the other hand, the *Papyrus Golenischeff*,[2] which dates from the time of the priest-king

[1] Num. xxi. 21–35; Deut. ii. 24–iii. 11.

[2] Müller, *Mitteilungen, der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, v. (1900), 1. Erman, *Aegypt. Zeitschrift*, 1900, i., p. 1.

Khrikhor (*c.* 1070), discloses a flourishing civilization of the Zakkala at Dor. This forbids our bringing down the date of their immigration much later than 1200. On the whole, therefore, the later inactive years of Ramessu III. seem the most probable time for the entrance of this race into Canaan. That the Philistines were already in the land at the time when the Hebrews entered it is indicated by the ancient song in Ex. xv. 14.

At their first appearance in Palestine they played a much more important *rôle* than in later times. The entire sea-coast from Carmel to the border of Egypt was in their possession. In the north, in the neighbourhood of Dor, the tribe of the Zakkala was settled; in the middle were the Pulasate, the leading clan, which gave its name to the whole people; and in the south were the Cherethites, whom the Old Testament writers frequently couple with the Philistines. At the time when the Greeks first became acquainted with the lands at the eastern end of the Mediterranean they were the leading race; and from their name Palestine, the classical designation of the land, is derived. In the eleventh century, in the interval between the downfall of the Hittite empire and the advance of the Aramæans, they probably had many strongholds in Syria as well as in Palestine.

The Philistines were not Semites, but were perhaps of Aryan origin. In their first impetuous assault it seemed likely that Canaan would be lost to the Semitic world. Had it not been for the counterstream of the Aramæans pressing westward from the desert, their victory would have been complete. As

it was, they were gradually restricted to the cities of the coast, and were finally confined within the Pentapolis so often referred to in later Israelitish history. Here they became more and more Semitized, adopting the language, the religion, and the customs of their neighbours, until finally they were distinguished from them only by certain peculiarities of dress and of government and by the fact that they were uncircumcised.

Soon after the Philistines fell upon the western coast of Canaan, Israel fell upon the eastern side. The triumphs of Sihon, king of the Amorites, and of Og, king of Bashan, led the Moabites and Ammonites to invoke the help of their kinsmen. The Leah tribes, which were restive under the rule of Moses, were the first to heed the summons. Leaving the Rachel tribes with the ark, they passed peaceably through the territories of Edom, Moab, and Ammon (Deut. ii. 2–8, 18 f.) into the land east of the Jordan. The Amorites were unprepared for this attack, and were easily conquered. The tribe of Reuben settled down in their place, and the people of Gad, who, in accordance with the inscription of Mesha (line 10), were the aborigines, soon joined the Israelitish confederacy. In the genealogies Gad is regarded, not as a son of one of the wives of Israel, *i.e.*, not as a full-blooded Hebrew tribe, but as a son of the concubine Zilpah.

The remaining Leah tribes determined to push forward beyond the Jordan. Judah, Simeon, and Levi were the first to cross, as is evident not merely from the place that they occupy in the genealogical scheme as the first-born of Israel, but also from the

narratives of Jud. i. 1–3 and Gen. xxxiv. On entering the land they came into conflict with a coalition of Canaanite city-kings under the leadership of Adoni-Zedek.[1] A decisive battle was fought at Bezek, the modern Ibziq, a little to the north of Shechem, in which the Leah tribes came off victorious and made a permanent settlement. The Canaanitish tribe of Asher, which we have met already in the lists of Sety I. and of Ramessu II.[2] joined the Hebrew confederation; and, together with Gad, was included in the later genealogical lists as a son of the concubine Zilpah. Dan and Naphtali also, the children of the concubine Bilhah, are doubtless Canaanite tribes that were adopted into the nation of Israel.

All went well until Levi and Simeon broke their treaty, and treacherously slew the people of Shechem (Gen. xxxiv.), whereupon the Amorites rose *en masse* and almost exterminated them. Levi ceased to exist as a tribe. Its survivors were scattered among the remaining tribes; where, in lack of other occupation, they took on oracular priestly functions, and thus laid the foundation for the future sacred guild of the Levites. Simeon also was reduced to a tiny clan that was driven to the extreme south of the land, where it dragged out a feeble existence as an appendage of the tribe of Judah. Judah was expelled from the region of Shechem into the southern hill-country, and for generations lost its connection with the remaining tribes. Only after absorbing large Canaanitish elements, and being reinforced with Kenezites and Kenites, did it again become politically important.

[1] Jud. i. 5 f., by textual corruption Adoni-Bezek. [2] P. 126.

In the Song of Deborah (Jud. v.) Simeon and Judah are not even mentioned.

The position of the Leah tribes Issachar and Zebulon in the genealogies indicates that their entrance into Canaan was later than the settlement of Simeon, Levi and Judah, and later than the incorporation of the concubine clans. In regard to the details of their migration, however, we have no exact information.

On the whole, the attack of the Leah tribes upon Canaan was a failure; and had it not been for the greater success of the Rachel tribes that followed in their wake, Israel would never have obtained possession of the promised land. Forsaking Kadesh, Moses advanced with the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh into the country east of the Jordan. The ark, the visible symbol of Yahweh's presence, accompanied them. On this occasion the Edomites and Moabites refused the permission to pass through their territories that they had previously accorded.[1] Thus may be explained the contradictory statements of Hebrew tradition on the conduct of these nations at the time of the exodus.[2]

The unwillingness of the Leah tribes to relinquish Gilead and Bashan to their former owners had aroused strong animosity against Israel. Balak, king of Moab, and the Midianites, his neighbours, sought to hinder the advance of Moses, and called in the help of a certain Balaam son of Beor. In regard to the home of this personage Hebrew tradition is singularly divergent. According to J (Num. xxii. 25) he came from the land of the children of Ammo

[1] Num. xx. 14-21; xxi. 14; Jud. xi. 17 f. [2] See p. 150.

(LXX. Ammon); according to P (Num. xxxi. 8, 16; Josh. xiii. 22) he was connected with the Midianites; according to E (Num. xxii. 5; xxiii. 7) he came from Pethor in Aram (Syria). J and P, it will be observed, place his home in the immediate vicinity of Moab. In all probability, therefore, Aram in E (followed by Deut. xxiii. 4) is a case of the common textual confusion between Aram and Edom (ארם and אדם). With this agrees the list in Gen. xxxvi. 32, which makes Bela son of Beor, a contemporary of the generation after the exodus, the first king of Edom. Contrary to the usual opinion, Pethor is probably not to be identified with Pitru, a city west of the Euphrates mentioned by Shalmaneser II.; and both it and Dinhabah, the residence of Bela (Gen. xxxvi. 32), are plausibly regarded as textual corruptions of Rehoboth, which is named as the residence of Shaul, the sixth king of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 37). This Rehoboth is said to be "by the river" (*cf.* Num. xxii. 5), that is, not the Euphrates, but the River of Mutsrim (corrupted into River of Mitsraim, or "River of Egypt"), in later times regarded as the southern boundary of the land of Canaan.

These machinations of the Moabites and Edomites were met successfully by the Rachel tribes, and all was ready for an advance into the land west of the Jordan when Moses died. Joshua, the chieftain of Ephraim, became his successor (*c.* 1200 B.C.) and the plan of campaign was carried on without interruption. Crossing the Jordan at Gilgal, Joshua captured Jericho, Ai, and Bethel in rapid succession; whereupon the small towns in the neighbourhood

surrendered and became tributary. Alarmed at this success, the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon formed an alliance, similar to that which had been formed at an earlier date against the Leah tribes. In the battle which ensued Ephraim and Manasseh won a great victory, which ensured to them the possession of the mountain-region of Central Palestine. A coalition in the North under the leadership of Jabin, king of Hazor, was also defeated. So important were these victories, and so much did they redound to the advantage of the clans which had entered Canaan earlier, that in late Hebrew tradition Joshua came to be regarded as the leader of a united Israel and the conqueror of the entire territory subsequently occupied by the nation.

The region conquered by Ephraim and Manasseh was the one called Joseph-el in the Annals of Tahutimes III.[1] As these tribes amalgamated with the Canaanites, they soon became undistinguishable from them. Hence, Ephraim and Manasseh were classified in the genealogies as sons of Joseph.[2] Joseph, however, was regarded as the son of Jacob, the ancestor of a group of Canaanite tribes ; hence, as Ephraim and Manasseh were sons of Israel, Israel and Jacob had to be identified. Accordingly, we are told that at Bethel Jacob's name was changed to Israel ; which, translated into literal language, means simply, that at the great sanctuary of Bethel, which was reverenced equally by Canaanites and Israelites, the fusion of the two nations went on, until at last the Canaanitish Jacob disappeared and the Aramæan Israel

[1] See pp. 42, 81. [2] See p. 43.

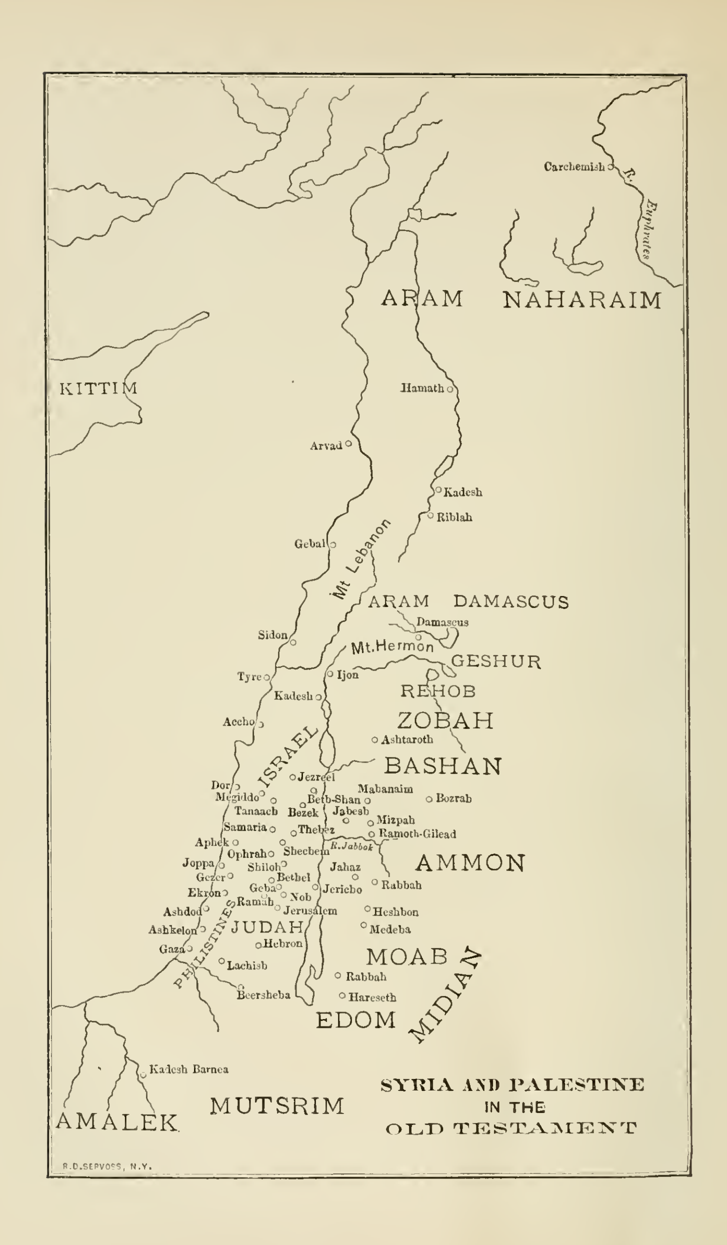
took its place. Through this blending of Israel with its predecessors the facts are explained that the language of the Old Testament is not Aramaic but a dialect of Canaanite, and that the institutions, customs, and traditions of Israel are so largely identical with those of the earlier inhabitants of the land.

While Palestine was thus coming into the possession of new races, a similar change was going on in Syria. After the break-up of the Hittite empire, its place was speedily filled by a number of Aramæan clans similar to Moab, Ammon, Edom, and Israel. Unfortunately we have no record of the way in which this change was effected. About 1000 B.C. a number of flourishing Syrian kingdoms appear in the Hebrew and in the Assyrian records. These must have required some time to rise to power, so that we shall not be far astray if we place their beginnings in the same period with the beginnings of the Aramæan nations in Palestine.

North of the territory of Gad and of Ammon lay the kingdoms of Geshur, Maacah, Rehob, and Zobah. Still farther north were Damascus, Hadrach, Hamath, and Patin, and beyond the Euphrates, in the region once occupied by the kingdom of Mitanni, was Beth Eden, or Bit Adini, as it was called by the Assyrians. The coast remained in the hands of the Canaanitish Phœnicians, its ancient possessors, and certain districts of the North were still held by a remnant of the Hittites. A complete change in the political geography and in the nomenclature of Syria had taken place since the period of the Annals of Tahutimes III. and of the Amarna letters.

Throughout Syria and Mesopotamia the Aramæan migration was felt with much greater force than in Palestine. The result was that, while in Palestine the older population imposed its speech upon its conquerors, in Syria the speech of the invaders triumphed. Babylonian, which for more than 2,000 years had held its own throughout Western Asia as the language of diplomacy and of trade, was now displaced by Aramaic. Even within Babylonia and Assyria the latter became the mother-tongue of an ever-increasing proportion of the population.





Carchemish
R. Euphrates
ARAM
NAHARAIM
KITTIM
Hamath
Arvad
Kadesh
Riblah
Gebal
Mt Lebanon
ARAM
DAMASCUS
Damascus
Sidon
Mt.Hermon
GESHUR
Tyre
Ijon
Kadesh
REHOB
ZOBAH
Accho
Ashtaroth
ISRAEL
BASHAN
Jezreel
Dor
Megiddo
Mahanaim
Beth-Shan
Bozrah
Tanaach
Bezek
Jabesh
Mizpah
Samaria
Thebez
Ramoth-Gilead
Aphek
R. Jabbok
Ophrah
Shechem
Joppa
Shiloh
Jahaz
AMMON
Gezer
Bethel
Geba
Jericho
Rabbah
Ekron
Nob
Ramah
Ashdod
Jerusalem
Heshbon
Ashkelon
JUDAH
Medeba
Gaza
Hebron
MOAB
PHILISTINES
Lachish
Rabbah
Beersheba
Hareseth
MIDIAN
EDOM
Kadesh Barnea
AMALEK
MUTSRIM
SYRIA AND PALESTINE
IN THE
OLD TESTAMENT
R.D.SERVOSS, N.Y.

CHAPTER IX

THE PERIOD OF THE HEBREW JUDGES

1160–1020 B.C.

From 1200 until 876 B.C. Syria and Palestine were left in peace by the great powers. Occasional expeditions for plunder were made by a few exceptionally energetic monarchs, but there was no attempt to establish a permanent supremacy. The successors of Ramessu III. in the XXth dynasty were powerless to resist the aggressions of the Theban hierarchy, and during the XXIst dynasty the throne was usurped by the high priests of Amen. The kings of the XXIId dynasty were usurpers of Libyan origin, and those of the XXIIId–XXVth dynasties were Ethiopian conquerors. About 1180 B.C. Babylonia was wasted by a second Elamite invasion under Kidinkhutrudash and Kudurnankhundi II.; it suffered also from repeated incursions of Aramæan hordes. The powerful Kassite dynasty, that had reigned for 600 years, fell about 1100, and was succeeded by a number of dynasties of relatively short duration and of little historical importance. During this period Assyria slowly rose into prominence, and prepared to become the mistress of Western Asia in the first half of the next millennium; but she had first to wage a long struggle

for supremacy with Babylon, and not until this was ended could she attempt to extend her empire westward.

For more than three centuries, accordingly, the newly founded Aramæan states and the other little nations of Syria and Palestine had the opportunity to work out their destiny undisturbed by foreign influence. With the exception of a few inscriptions and a few items in Greek historians, our only sources for the history of this period are the books of the Old Testament. These concern themselves almost exclusively with the fortunes of the chosen people; and, even in the case of Israel, their record is fragmentary. Future exploration will, it is to be hoped, throw light on many an obscure point.

As Israel grew strong through assimilation of the older population, it began to push out from Mount Ephraim into the fertile plain of Esdraelon, which up to this time had remained in the hands of the Amorites. This advance led the Amorites to form a new alliance under the leadership of a certain Shamgar son of Anath.[1] The location of the Hebrew tribes, as well as the editorial combination of Sisera with Jabin,[2] lead us to regard this incident as belonging to a period soon after the conquest. The name Shamgar is not Semitic, but is apparently the same as Sangar, the name of a Hittite king of Carchemish in the time of Ashurnatsirpal and Shalmaneser II. Under his rule Israel was much distressed. "Caravans ceased, and merchants travelled by roundabout ways; villages ceased in Israel." His successor, probably his son,

[1] Jud. v. 6. [2] Jud. iv. 2.

was Sisera, the second element of whose name appears in the Hittite names Maura-sera, Khate-sera, and Pisiri.[1] It is hard to avoid the inference that we have here a Hittite dynasty, a result of the southward migration induced by the Sea-peoples.[2]

At this juncture the prophetess Deborah appeared to reunite the scattered tribes of Israel. She appealed to their common faith in Yahweh ; she recalled his victories in the past as a pledge of success in the future; and she summoned them under penalty of a curse to "come to the aid of Yahweh like heroes." Thus she revived the Mosaic teaching, which through the occupation of Canaan was in danger of being forgotten, and saved Israel from losing the measure of religious and of political unity that it had already attained.

Ephraim responded to the call, together with Benjamin (the "southerner"), a clan that had split off from it soon after the conquest. Manasseh was represented by Machir, one of its principal families, which subsequently migrated to the east side of the Jordan. The Leah tribes, Zebulon and Issachar, came also. Of the adopted tribes, the so-called children of the concubines, only Naphtali appeared, an act for which it received special praise in the Song of Deborah. The other adopted tribes, whose sympathy with the Canaanites was doubtless strong, remained in their homes. So also did the Leah tribe

[1] See p. 106.

[2] Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte*, p. 3; Moore, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1898, ii., p. 159.

of Reuben on the east side of the Jordan. For this apostasy from their God and treachery to their people they were bitterly reproached by Deborah. Levi, Simeon, and Judah, as previously remarked (p. 152), are not mentioned in the Song.

Sisera gathered his forces in the same region where the Canaanites had made their stand against Tahutimes III. at "Taanach by the waters of Megiddo." He had chariots of iron and skilled troops, while the Israelites had no chariots and were but poorly armed; nevertheless he was defeated and, while seeking a hiding-place in the tent of Jael the Kenite, was slain by her with a mallet. This was the last united stand of the Amorites. Although many strongholds remained to be conquered, Israel was no longer in danger from the older population.

The occupation of Canaan by Moab, Ammon, Israel, Edom, and other kindred tribes relieved for a time the pressure of the nomadic Aramæan hordes; but soon the scanty pasture-lands again became crowded, and a new wave of Hebraic migration broke upon Palestine.

The Book of Judges [1] has preserved the memory of a Moabite incursion which it assigns to the early part of the period of the Judges, and it is natural to suppose that this was caused by an impulse of the Midianites in the rear.[2] Eglon, king of Moab, took possession of part of the territory of Benjamin and Ephraim, and garrisoned it with his own people; but a certain Benjamite, named Ehud, gained a private interview, through the ruse that he was bringing an

[1] Chap. iii. [2] See Jud. vi.–vii.

oracle, and stabbed him with a long dagger that he had concealed in his clothing. Making his escape, he roused the inhabitants of the mountain-country of Ephraim. They seized the fords of the Jordan; and attacking the Moabites, who were panic-stricken at the death of their king, slew them to the last man.

A similar invasion of Israel by the Edomites, which we should expect to find at this point in the history, is lacking from the present form of the Book of Judges; and in its place we find the account of an oppression by Cushan-Rishathaim, king of Aram Naharaim.[1] An eight-year subjugation of Israel by Aramæans of the Euphrates Valley is, however, inconceivable. At this time the Aramæans, like the Israelites, were endeavouring to build up new states on the ruins of the Hittite, Mitannian, and Canaanite kingdoms; and were not yet in the position to attempt foreign conquest.

For this reason a number of historians are inclined to regard this incident as apocryphal. A more probable solution of the difficulty is, that we have here a case of textual corruption. Aram is a common mistake for Edom,[2] and having once been read, Naharaim would easily come into the text as a gloss. Edom is what we should expect here in the light of the general historical situation and of the fact that the deliverer belonged to a South Judæan clan. If this be the true reading, then Cushan Rishathaim is probably a corruption of the name of one of the kings of Edom in the list of Gen. xxxvi. 31–39. Klostermann[3] first suggested that he is the same as Husham, the third

[1] Jud. iii. 7–11. [2] See p. 153. [3] *Geschichte Israels*, p. 119.

king of the list; and that Rishathaim is a corruption of Rosh-hat-temani, "chief of the Temanites" (in Gen. xxxvi. 34 Husham is said to have come from the land of the Temanites). Marquart[1] adopts this view, except that he proposes to correct Rishathaim into Rosh-'ittaim, "chief of the city of 'Ittaim." It can hardly be doubted that Cushan, king of Aram, is nothing else than a perverted form of Husham, king of Edom; and that in the account of his oppression we have the record of an Edomite invasion of Judah contemporaneous with the Moabite invasion of Benjamin and induced by the same cause, namely, the increasing pressure of the Midianites upon the southern and eastern borders of Palestine.

Before long the Moabites gave way; and this barrier being removed, the Midianites fell in full force upon Israel. Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh, was leader in the war against them. In Jud. vi.–viii. two accounts of his career, that are partly parallel to one another and partly supplementary, have been woven together by the editor. From a comparison of the two we extract the following main facts. Gideon roused his own clan of Abiezer and fell upon the Midianites by night as they were encamped in the plain of Jezreel. They were thrown into panic, and fled toward the Jordan; but the Ephraimites seized the fords, and slew great numbers of them when they attempted to pass. Zebah and Zalmunna (or, according to the other account, Oreb and Zeeb), their two kings, succeeded in crossing, but were

[1] *Fundamente isr. u. jüd. Gesch.*, p. 11; see also Cheyne, *Encycl. Biblica*, i., col. 969.

pursued by Gideon, captured, and slain with his own hand.

The peril must have been extreme and the victory remarkable, for the "Day of Midian" continued to be remembered down to late times as a type of wonderful deliverance.[1] So great was the gratitude of the Israelites that they offered to make Gideon king; but he declined the honour, and asked merely that the golden rings taken from the Midianites might be granted him. These people were traders and, like the modern Bedawin, carried their wealth on their persons. Seventy pounds of gold were gathered from the fallen, and out of this Gideon, in acknowledgment of the divine aid, made an ephod, or gold-covered image of Yahweh, which he set up in Ophrah, his native town.

In close connection with this victory we must place the exploit of the fourth king of Edom mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 35: "And Husham died, and Hadad, the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead; and the name of his city was Avith." The invasion of Israel implies that the Midianites had previously overrun Moabite territory, and with this corresponds the statement that Hadad defeated Midian "in the field of Moab." After Gideon's victory the Edomites seem to have plucked up courage to attack their enemy on Moabite ground, and to have inflicted upon them a second defeat. If this combination be correct, it is of great value in determining the approximate date of Gideon, and in fixing the chronological sequence of the Judges. Avith,

[1] Isa. ix 4; x. 26; Ps lxxxiii. 11.

Hadad's capital, has been supposed to be a Moabite town, and from this it has been inferred that the Edomite kingdom at this time was much larger than at any subsequent period of its history. From this double disaster Midian never recovered.

After the death of Gideon his seventy sons succeeded to his influence in Israel; but one of them, Abimelech, the son of a Canaanite woman, was dissatisfied with a divided authority, and resolved to secure for himself the kingship that his father had declined. His mother's kinsmen, who dwelt in Shechem, he persuaded to set up a city-monarchy of the old Canaanite type and to furnish him with money out of the treasury of the temple of Baalberith. With this he hired a band of ruffians, and falling upon his brothers, slew them all except Jotham, who had hidden himself. He was then made king, and not only the people of Shechem but also the Israelites of the vicinity acknowledged his authority. Instead of proving a defender of the Canaanites, however, as had been anticipated, he showed himself more than half Israelite in his sympathies; and the result was that his maternal kinsmen turned against him, and listened to the suggestion of a certain Gaal, son of Obed (or Jo-baal ?), a newcomer in Shechem, that they should refuse to submit longer to his rule. Abimelech was informed of the revolt, and falling suddenly upon the town, captured it and razed it to the ground. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory; for while fighting against the neighbouring town of Thebez, his head was crushed by a mill-stone thrown by a woman from the roof of the tower.

This story is one of the oldest portions of the Book of Judges and it gives an interesting picture of the state of Canaan in the fourth or fifth generation after the conquest. Shechem was still Canaanite, although Israelites seem to have resided there. The name of the god of the city, Baal-berith or El-berith, "Covenant Lord," or "Covenant God" suggests that Canaanites and Israelites were united on the basis of a common religion; yet racial antagonism was strong, and the appeal could still be made to the memory of the days when Shechem was ruled by its native dynasty of Hamor. On the whole, however, it is clear that throughout the land Israelitish influence predominated, and that the Canaanites were being slowly absorbed.

After Abimelech a late editor of the Book of Judges has inserted the two minor judges Tola and Jair.[1] The latter is the same person whose conquest of the "villages of Jair" is recorded in Num. xxxii. 41 in connection with the history of Moses. Whether the editor is right in inserting his victories at this point is uncertain; but this much is clear, that the settlements of Manasseh east of the Jordan were not made in the time of Moses, but were the result of a back-migration of this tribe into Gilead. In the Song of Deborah[2] Machir, the "son" of Manasseh, is located west of the Jordan. It is probable that the chronology of the editor at this point is approximately correct. A considerable time after the conquest must have elapsed before Israel could have attempted expansion outside of Canaan, and the hostility of the

[1] Jud. x. 1–5. [2] Jud. v. 14.

Ammonites which we meet in the stories of Jephthah and of Saul is most naturally explained as the result of aggression on the part of Israel.

When the Manassites migrated eastward they came into conflict with the northern outposts of the Ammonites. The result was that the latter gathered their forces and invaded Gilead.[1] The Israelites could find no competent leader and were worsted. Thereupon they called to their aid Jephthah, the son of a harlot, who had been driven out by his legitimate brothers, and who had been leading a freebooter life in the land of Tob. Jephthah consented to return on condition that, if victorious, he should be recognized as chieftain by all the people. This condition was accepted, and he went with the elders to Mizpeh,[2] where he vowed that, if he were successful, he would offer to Yahweh the first thing that met him on his return. He won a great victory, pursuing the Ammonites into the heart of their country; but when he came home, he was met at the door by his daughter, his only child, and was compelled to sacrifice her.

While Israel was busy establishing itself in Eastern Canaan, the Philistines were occupied with the same task in Western Canaan, and sooner or later the two peoples were bound to come into conflict. The first brushes were with the Danites who dwelt to the southeast of Mount Ephraim. The story of Samson[3] preserves the memory of the heroic days of border-

[1] Jud. xi.

[2] According to Schumacher, *Mittheilungen d. deutsch, Palest. Vereins*, 1897, p. 86, = Masfa northwest of Jerash.

[3] Jud. xiii.–xvi.

warfare between the outposts of the two nations. In these conflicts the Philistines were usually victorious on account of their better armament and their superior military organization. Although they were divided into five tribes, having Gaza, Gath, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron as their capitals, they were closely confederated, and acted with a unity unknown as yet in Israel.

The Danites were presently reduced to submission, and the Philistines began to threaten Mount Ephraim. Mustering a large army, they encamped in Aphek, a town situated probably at the entrance of the modern Wady Kaneh that leads up to Shechem.[1] The Ephraimites and Benjaminites went forth to meet them and pitched in Eben-ezer. A battle was fought in which the Israelites were worsted. Thinking that their defeat had been due to the absence of their national god, they sent to Shiloh to fetch the ark, that had led them so often to victory in the days of Moses and of Joshua. In spite of its presence, however, they were again routed with great slaughter, and the ark fell into the hands of the Philistines, who carried it off and placed it in the temple of Dagon at Ashdod.

The land of Israel now lay open to the enemies, and they spread themselves over it, burning and pillaging as they went. Shiloh was probably destroyed at this time[2] and its priesthood was compelled to flee to Nob.[3] Ephraim and Benjamin were made tributary and a garrison was placed in Geba.[4] Apparently the whole of the fertile Plain of Esdrae-

[1] 1 Sam. iv. 1.
[2] Jer. vii. 12–14.
[3] 1 Sam. xxi.
[4] 1 Sam. xiii. 3.

lon, through which the trade-route to the Euphrates passed, fell also into their hands.

To this period of Philistine supremacy belongs the visit of an Egyptian official to Palestine that is described in the recently discovered *Papyrus Golenischeff*.[1] The narrative is dated "in the fifth year"; that is, according to Müller, the fifth year of the priest-king Khrikhor (*c.* 1070); according to Erman, the fifth year of Ramessu XII., under whom Khrikhor usurped the throne of Thebes.

The author, Wen-Amen, was sent to fetch timber from Palestine. He went to Tanis, where Smendes (Nesbindedi), the first king of the XXIst (Tanitic) dynasty was reigning, presented his credentials, and asked for a ship to convey him. Smendes assented, but it was a month before Wen-Amen could proceed on his way. His first landing place was Dor, on the coast of Kharu (Palestine) at the foot of Mount Carmel. Here he was hospitably received by Badir, the king of the Zakkala,[2] who sent him plenty of bread, wine, and beef. During the night one of the men of his ship ran away taking with him a pound of gold and over six pounds of silver that were destined to pay for the timber. Early the next morning Wen-Amen laid his complaint before the king of Dor and demanded justice. Badir replied that, if the thief were one of his own people, he would make good the loss; but since he was an Egyptian, he could only insti-

[1] Golenischeff, *Recueil de Travaux*, xxi., p. 74; Müller, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1900, p. 14; Erman, *Äg. Zeitschrift*, 1900, p. 1.

[2] See p. 148.

tute a search. After nine days nothing had been discovered, and Wen-Amen requested permission to depart.

Leaving Dor, he arrived in Tyre, and thence proceeded toward Gebal. On the way he fell in with a ship of the Zakkala, which he suspected of hiding the thief that had taken his money. Searching it, he found six pounds of silver, which he appropriated until the Zakkala should make good his loss. On arriving at Gebal he hid on shore the silver and the image of Amen that he was carrying, and sent back his ship, which was not adapted for the transportation of timber. Scarcely had it gone, when he received an order from the king of Gebal to leave the port at once. His reply unfortunately is missing from the papyrus, except the conclusion in which he offers to return to Egypt on the first vessel that may be going in that direction.

Nineteen days passed, during which the king sent him daily a message to be gone; and at the end of that time he found a ship and put all his goods on board, waiting for nightfall to bring also the god and the treasure. Meanwhile one of the king's pages became ecstatic and prophesied that his master should receive the messenger that Amen had sent. Zekar-Ba'al accordingly sent word to Wen-Amen to remain in Gebal, and the following morning summoned him to appear at the palace at the time of the morning sacrifice. First he asked him, how long it was since he had left Thebes; and Wen-Amen replied, "Five months and a day." Then he inquired after his credentials; and on being

informed that they had been left with Smendes at Tanis, he grew very angry at this affront to his royal dignity. Finally, he demanded what Wen-Amen had come for; and learning that it was for timber, asked how much money he had brought with him. Wen-Amen informed him, but he pronounced the sum too small, and brought out the accounts of his forefathers (doubtless cuneiform tablets like the Amarna letters), in which it was recorded that they had received 200 pounds of silver for similar services. After considerable discussion, in which Wen-Amen lauded the greatness of Amen and appealed to the fact that the king's forefathers had reverenced his authority, permission was given to send to Egypt for the credentials and for more money.

Within two weeks the ship of Gebal returned, bringing from Smendes and his queen Tent-Amen 8 pounds of gold, 4 silver vessels, 10 pieces of royal linen, 500 rolls of papyrus, 500 ox-hides, 500 ropes, 500 sacks of lentils, and 5 *mst'* of fish. These gifts the king was pleased to receive graciously, and set 300 men and 300 oxen at work in felling and drawing timber. In six months time the wood was piled on the beach ready to be loaded into the ships that were to convey it to Egypt, and the king invited Wen-Amen to accompany him on a tour of inspection. On the way he boasted greatly of his clemency in paying attention to Khrikhor's request, and reminded him of the envoys of Kha-em-weset (one of the later Ramessids), who remained fifteen years in Phœnicia, and died there without ever returning to Egypt. In order to give point to his remark, the

king ordered one of his pages to conduct Wen-Amen to the spot where the envoys were buried; but he politely begged to be excused, and suggested that it would be better, if the king, instead of following the example of his forefathers, would set up a tablet commemorating his reverence for the god Amen-Ra; then in future generations Egyptian travellers who should read it would make libations for the repose of his soul. To this the king replied, "That is a great testimony!"

As Wen-Amen was about to depart, he spied eleven ships of the Zakkala lying in wait for him outside of the harbour, and in despair sat down on the beach and wept. The king sent his secretary to inquire what was the matter, and when he heard, was also moved to tears. To console him he sent two measures of wine, a ram, and an Egyptian singing-girl, and promised to help him against the Zakkala. The next morning he summoned them before him and apparently persuaded them to let Wen-Amen go. Accordingly, he set out, but instead of proceeding to Egypt, was driven by contrary winds upon the coast of Alashia (Cyprus). Here the natives threatened to kill him, and dragged him before Hatibi, the queen of the place. Wen-Amen could not speak the language of the country, but found at last a man who understood Egyptian, and through this interpreter begged for his life and the protection of his goods. Here the papyrus breaks off. He must have returned to Egypt, for this document is the official report of his journey; but whether he succeeded in bringing back the timber for which he had set out, we do not know.

This narrative gives a welcome glimpse into the political relations of Palestine and Syria at the beginning of the eleventh century. Egypt had not merely lost her power, but had become contemptible in the eyes of her former subjects. Her ambassadors were bullied and were detained in captivity. Even servants of the Syrian princes dared to make jokes at the expense of the Pharaoh. All these insults had to be borne meekly, since there were no ships and no soldiers to send to avenge them. The Palestinian coast south of Carmel was in possession of the Zakkala, kinsmen of the Philistines. Gebal was Phœnician and was the seat of a high culture. The customs of its people presented many interesting parallels to those of the Hebrews.

During this period the old Babylonian empire, which had long been dormant, manifested unexpected signs of vitality. About 1100 the Kassite dynasty, which had ruled for 600 years, fell, in consequence of repeated defeats by the Elamites; and the new dynasty of Isin (?), of native origin, took possession of the throne. The accession of these kings revived the energy of the ancient empire, and restored it to something of its former prestige. Nebuchadrezzar I., the sixth king of the dynasty, defeated the Elamites and carried his arms into Syria. In one of his inscriptions[1] he styles himself "Conqueror of the land of A-mur-ru," that is, "the land of the Amorites," the old Babylonian name of Syria being retained,[2] although the Amorites had long since ceased to be the dominant race. How extensive Nebuchadrezzar's con-

[1] *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii. 1, p. 164. [2] See p. 29.

quests were, or how long he retained them, we do not know. In the next generation we find the same region occupied by Tiglath-pileser I., king of Assyria,[1] so that the Babylonian success must have been short-lived.

The Philistine domination of Israel, during which the events just recorded probably took place, did not last long. The old religious fervour, to which Moses, Deborah, Gideon, and the other "judges" had appealed, still lived. Bands of religious devotees, the "sons of the prophets," traversed the land awakening the patriotism of the people. Through music and dancing they worked themselves up to a point of enthusiasm where they became ecstatic and prophesied. So infectious was their frenzy that bystanders were seized with it, and were ready to go any length in the service of Yahweh. Here was a mighty force for the unification of Israel and for the expulsion of the Philistines, if only it could be guided by a competent leader.

The man who proved himself master of the situation was Samuel, the seer of Ramah. From 1 Sam. xix. 20 it is safe to infer that he organized the ecstatics into communities, and thus made their influence more effective. To him also seems to have been entrusted the selection of a leader in the projected uprising. One day a Benjaminite named Saul the son of Kish, of Gibeah, came to consult him in regard to his father's lost asses, and in him Samuel recognized a God-sent leader. Straightway he fetched a cruse of oil and anointed him, as the old Egyptian kings

[1] See p. 179.

anointed their appointees,[1] to be king over Israel. He then gave him a series of "signs" that should attest to him his selection by Yahweh to deliver his people, the chief of which was that the spirit should fall upon him when he met the sons of the prophets and that he should prophesy with them. Then he should hold himself ready for the first opportunity to come forward as a leader.

All turned out as Samuel had anticipated. Saul was seized with prophetic ecstasy, and knew himself chosen of Yahweh. An opportunity soon occurred for him to declare himself. The Ammonites, who in consequence of the Philistine wars had encroached greatly upon Israel since the time of Jephthah, besieged the city of Jabesh in Gilead.[2] The inhabitants were willing to surrender, but the only terms that Nahash, king of Ammon, would make were that he should put out the right eyes of all the citizens for a reproach to Israel. The unfortunate Jabeshites obtained a week's delay to solicit help from their kinsmen. Their messengers went from town to town, and were received everywhere with weeping, but no one moved to their rescue. At last they arrived at Gibeah, and Saul, who was returning from ploughing, inquired what the commotion was about. When he heard, "the spirit of Elohim came mightily upon him." Cutting up a yoke of oxen, he sent the pieces throughout the borders of Israel by messengers, saying, "Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen." The effect was magical, the leader had appeared, and

[1] See p. 83. [2] 1 Sam. xi.

all the northern tribes rallied to his standard. The Ammonites were smitten, Jabesh was relieved, and Saul was chosen king by acclamation.

It is interesting to note that, contemporaneously with the rise of a monarchy in Israel, Edom also seems to have taken a step in the direction of greater consolidation of its government. Hadad II., the eighth king of Edom,[1] is mentioned without the name of his father. This suggests, not textual corruption, as Marquart and Cheyne think, but a change from an elective to a hereditary monarchy. Hadad's father is not named because he was the king who immediately preceded him in the list. This view is confirmed by 1 Kings xi. 14, where another Hadad is said to have been "of the king's seed in Edom." Hadad II. had for his capital Pa'u (LXX. Pe'or), which points to a dominion over Moab similar to that exercised by Hadad I.[2] His wife is said to have been "a daughter of Matred," instead of which we should probably read Mutsri, or North Arabia. The kingdom of Mutsri, which played an important part in later history, was already powerful; and Hadad found it to his advantage to confederate himself with it.

[1] Gen. xxxvi. 39. [2] See p. 163.

CHAPTER X

THE PERIOD OF THE EARLY HEBREW KINGS.

1020–885 B.C.

THE first act of Saul's reign was to gather a force of 3,000 men and smite the garrison at Geba.[1] This act of revolt brought out the entire army of the Philistines, and so alarmed the Israelites that they fled for refuge to caves and thickets. At this juncture Jonathan, Saul's son, and his squire surprised the outpost at Michmash and threw the enemy into confusion. An earthquake also occurred which filled them with terror. Saul and his little band then fell upon them, and defeated them. Through this victory Saul won back the freedom of Israel; but the power of the Philistines was still unbroken, and he had to struggle all his life to prevent a second enslavement. "And there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul." And when Saul saw any mighty man, or any valiant man, he took him unto him."[2] Among those whom he thus gathered into his standing army were not only men of the northern tribes, but also Judæans, and even Edomites.

According to 1 Sam. xiv. 47 Saul waged successful

[1] 1 Sam. xiii. 2. [2] 1 Sam. xiv. 52.

war against Moab, Ammon, Zobah, and Edom; the last name, however, is doubtless a textual corruption of Aram. Edom was separated from the North Israelitish kingdom by Judah, so that there is no probability that Saul came into conflict with it; while the Aramæans on the north, who were formidable in the time of David, may well have been hostile during the reign of his predecessor.[1]

Among the Judæans who took service under Saul was David the son of Jesse, of Bethlehem. By his musical ability he won the heart of the king, and became his armour-bearer. In this position he distinguished himself as a leader against the Philistines, and so endeared himself to the people that he won from them the praise, "Saul has slain his thousands, but David his ten thousands." At court he was loved by everybody, including the king's own sons and daughters. It is no wonder that Saul, who was subject to fits of melancholy, gradually grew jealous of him, and finally tried to slay him. David was compelled to flee into the wilderness of Judah, where he led a precarious life as the chief of a band of freebooters. At times he was hard pressed by Saul, and once he was driven to the desperate extremity of taking refuge among the Philistines, out of whose hands he escaped with difficulty.

Relief did not come until after Saul's death in the battle of Mount Gilboa. The Philistines mustered their forces in the Plain of Esdraelon, where they could use chariots and horses to a better advantage, and Saul rashly allowed himself to risk an engagement.

[1] See p. 183.

His army was defeated and pushed back upon Mount Gilboa, where Jonathan and two other sons fell. Finding that he was wounded, and dreading lest he should fall alive into the hands of the enemy, he cast himself upon his sword and died. After this the Philistines overran Israel again, and the situation was as bad as it had been at the time of Saul's accession.

Contemporaneous probably with Saul was Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* 1023), the first Assyrian monarch that invaded Syria. We have seen already[1] how in the time of Amenhotep IV. (*c.* 1400 B.C.) the kingdom of Assyria under Ashur-uballit was beginning to become a menace to Babylon. Soon after the Amarna period Ashur-uballit was strong enough to take Nineveh from Mitanni and to place one of his grandsons upon the throne of Babylon. Bel-nirari forced Kurigalzu II. to submit to a partition of Mesopotamia, and thus obtained control of the trade-routes to the West. Shalmaneser I. (*c.* 1320) was the first Assyrian king to cross the Euphrates. He invaded Mutsri, north of Syria between the Taurus and Anti-Taurus ranges, but he did not penetrate Syria itself. Tuklat-Ninib, the contemporary of Ramessu II. (*c.* 1300), conquered Babylon; but civil war broke out, and he was unable to profit by his victory. A period of decline set in, during which Assyria lost all her possessions in Mesopotamia. This continued until 1116 B.C., when Ashur-dan I. came to the throne, under whom the westward movement once more began.

[1] See pp. 66, 102.

Tiglath-pileser I., the great-grandson of Ashur-dan I., during the first five years of his reign annexed the whole of Northern Mesopotamia; invaded Mutsri; drove the Aramæan Akhlami out of Mesopotamia; and, crossing the Euphrates near Carchemish, captured six of their strongholds. The account of these victories fills the famous Prism-inscription,[1] which is the earliest Assyrian historical document of any length that has come down to us. At some time subsequent to the writing of this inscription he conquered the whole of Northern Syria as far as the Mediterranean. Unfortunately, we have no detailed account of this campaign; and our only knowledge of it is derived from a brief inscription carved at the entrance of the grotto of Sebneh-Su at the head waters of the Tigris:

"In the grace of Ashur, Shamash, and Ramman, the great gods, I, Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, son of Ashur-reshishi, king of Assyria, son of Mutakkil-Nusku, king of Assyria, conqueror from the Great Sea of Amurru unto the Sea of Nairi (Lake Van), marched thrice unto the land of Nairi."

This is supplemented by an account of his hunting-exploits on the so-called Broken Obelisk:[2]

"The gods Ninib and Nirgal, who loved his priesthood, gave him hunting in the open country. He sailed in ships of the land of Arvad. A *nakhiru* (dolphin?) he killed in the Great Sea. Wild oxen, destructive and mighty, he slew at the town of Araziq, which lies in front of the land of the Hittites; and at the foot of Lebanon he caught young wild

[1] Rawlinson, i. 9–16; *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i., pp. 14–47; *Records of the Past, New Series*, i., pp. 92–121.

[2] Rawlinson, i. 28, lines 1–9, 29–30.

cattle alive, and gathered herds of them. Elephants he slew with his bow. Living elephants he caught, and brought to his city Ashshur. . . . A great *pagutu* (hippopotamus?) and a crocodile, dwellers in the river, and creatures of the Great Sea the king of Egypt caused to bring, and he showed them to the people of his land."

From these statements we gather that Tiglath-pileser reduced to submission the whole of Northern Syria as far as the Phœnician city of Arvad, and that news of his victories spread to Egypt and induced the Pharaoh to send him presents. This Pharaoh must have been one of the Tanitic monarchs of the XXIst dynasty rather than a Theban monarch of one of the earlier dynasties, who would have been too remote to enter into diplomatic relations with Tiglath-pileser at Arvad. Against the kingdoms of Qadesh and of Damascus he did not venture to advance; and since these acted as barriers, the rising kingdom of Israel was left undisturbed. In the later years of his reign he suffered reverses at the hand of Marduk-nadin-akhe, king of Babylon, which prevented following up his conquests in the West and organizing there a permanent administration. After his death Assyria underwent a period of decline, during which it lost all its foreign possessions; and not until after the time of Ashur-dan II. (*c.* 940) did it again revive and commence once more its forward movement.

On receiving news of Saul's death, David proceeded at once to Hebron; and was there anointed king over the tribe of Judah. He sent messengers to the northern tribes to invite them to recognize him, but they were not ready for this step; and Abner,

Saul's commander-in-chief, took Ishbaal,[1] Saul's son, and made him king over the northern tribes, with his capital at Mahanaim east of the Jordan. Hostilities soon broke out between the two kingdoms, in which success was generally on the side of David. Finally Abner quarrelled with Ishbaal, and began negotiations to deliver the northern kingdom over to David. While these were in progress, he was killed by Joab, David's commander, in revenge for the slaughter of his brother; and presently Ishbaal also was assassinated by two men of Beeroth. Thereupon the elders of Israel saw that it was useless to prolong the fight, and recognized David as king.[2]

So long as Israel and Judah were at war with one another, and so long as both were tributary, the Philistines saw no reason to interfere; but when the Hebrews were united under so mighty a warrior as David, the Philistines perceived that it was time to bestir themselves. In their first attack they were repulsed, but they continued to harass Israel for many years to come.[3] Finally, possibly through the interference of Egypt or of Mutsri,[4] David succeeded in breaking their power and in capturing Gath, their principal city.[5] In his later years we find a force of 600 men of Gath in his service,[6] and the Cherethites and Pelethites[7] who formed his body-guard were also Philistines.

[1] The form Ishbosheth is commonly supposed to be a perversion of Ishbaal, designed to avoid the name of the heathen deity Baal; but see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ii., col. 2208.

[2] 2 Sam. i. 1–v. 3.

[3] 2 Sam. v. 17–25.

[4] See 1 Kings ix. 16.

[5] 2 Sam. viii. 1; 1 Chron. xviii. 1.

[6] 2 Sam. xv. 18.

[7] 2 Sam. viii. 18.

David's hands were now free for wars of reprisal and of conquest against the nations on the eastern and the southern frontiers. Moab was defeated, and was treated with surprising severity in view of the fact that his father and his mother had found refuge there at the time of Saul's persecution.[1] Two-thirds of the captives he put to death, and the survivors he placed under tribute.[2] Presumably he extended the territory of Israel as far as the Arnon, but he did not attempt to incorporate Moab into his kingdom.

With the Ammonites David's relations had been friendly during the entire reign of Nahash, and upon his death he sent envoys to express sympathy with his son Hanun. The young man, who had seen the treatment of Moab, suspected that designs of conquest were concealed under this message; insulted the ambassadors by cutting off their beards and their robes, and sent them back to David. This was equivalent to a declaration of war. The Ammonites did not venture this time to fight Israel alone, but hired troops to help them from the petty Aramæan kingdoms of Beth Rehob, Zobah, and Maacah that lay between them and the foot of Mount Hermon. David sent out an army to meet them under the command of Joab. In order to prevent a junction of the allies, Joab divided his army, entrusting the force that was to hold the Ammonites in check to his brother Abishai, while he himself marched against the Aramæans. Both divisions were successful; the Aramæans fled back to their own land, and the Am-

[1] 1 Sam, xxii. 3 f. [2] 2 Sam. viii. 2.

monites retired to Rabbah, their capital.[1] The following year Joab laid siege to this city; and when he had brought matters so far that it was ready to fall, summoned David to enjoy the honour of making the capture himself. The prisoners he set at hard labour with saws, picks, axes, and brick-moulds.[2] Ammon was made tributary, but it was left under the rule of its native princes.[3]

The natural sequel of this victory was the chastising of the Aramæans who had dared to assist Ammon. Hadadezer, king of Zobah, seems to have held the hegemony at this time among the South Aramæan states. Summoning his allies, he placed them under the command of his general Shobach and sent them against David.[4] They were defeated, and considerable treasure was taken out of their cities.[5] Upon this Toi, king of Hamath (not Hamath the Great on the Orontes, but Hamath of Zobah[6]), who had long been oppressed by Hadadezer, sent his son Hadoram (Joram ?) to congratulate David and to bring him vessels of gold, silver, and bronze.[7]

According to 2 Sam. viii. 6 David captured Aram-Damascus, placed garrisons there, and imposed tribute; but this statement is due to a textual corruption of viii. 14, where we read that he placed garrisons in Edom and imposed tribute upon the Edomites. Misled by this error and by the supposition that Hamath was Hamath the Great, the exilic editor of

[1] 2 Sam. x. 1–14.
[2] 2 Sam. xii. 31.
[3] 2 Sam. xvii. 27.
[4] 2 Sam. x. 15–19.
[5] 2 Sam. viii 3–5, 7–8.
[6] 2 Chron viii. 3.
[7] 2 Sam. viii. 9–11.

the Book of Kings has supposed that David conquered the Aramæans as far north as the Euphrates. According to the older sources, however, his kingdom did not extend beyond the "Entering in of Hamath," that is, the descent from the high land about Ijon into the valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. In 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 the northernmost point reached by his census-takers is said to have been "the land of Takhtim-khodshi." The text is obviously corrupt, and many commentators follow Lucian's recension of the LXX. in reading "the land of the Hittites unto Qadesh." But there is no probability that at this time Qadesh on the Orontes was occupied by Hittites; or that the census-gatherers, whose aim was merely to number Israel, should have penetrated so far to the north. Accordingly, Klostermann and Guthe are doubtless right in reading, "the land of Naphtali unto Qadesh." Qadesh Naphtali is the well-known home of Barak.[1] David ruled no farther than the foot of Lebanon and the foot of Hermon, and the only Aramæans that were tributary to him were those immediately adjacent to his frontier.

In Edom his conquests were more complete than in any other region. After a great victory in the Valley of Salt, between Beersheba and the Dead Sea, Joab ravaged Edom for six months, slaying every male that fell into his hands. Unlike Moab and Ammon, it was not allowed to retain its own government, but was annexed to Judah. Garrisons were placed in its midst, and it did not again regain its

[1] Jud. v. 6.

independence until two hundred years later as the result of a successful revolt against Joram.[1]

The king of Edom, perhaps Hadad II. (Hadar) of Gen. xxxvi. 39, but more probably his successor, perished in the war, but his little son Hadad was carried off by some of the servants of his father to Mitsraim (Egypt, according to the received text, 1 Kings xi. 17). Inasmuch, however, as in the next verse he is said to have arisen from Midian and to have gone thence to Egypt by way of Paran, it is probable that Mitsraim is a corruption of Mutsri (or Mutsrim), a district of North Arabia adjacent to Midian and to Edom that is frequently mentioned in the Assyrian monuments and in native inscriptions. All memory of this region died out among the later Jews, and the result was that in every place where Mutsrim stood in the ancient records Mitsraim was read, thus confusing the sense of a large number of passages.[2] Midian had stood under Edomite rule since the days of Hadad I., and Hadad II. probably married a princess of Mutsri,[3] so that these regions were natural refuges for the young prince and his adherents. When he grew up and claimed his heritage, he became a formidable antagonist of Solomon.[4]

[1] 1 Chron. xviii. 12 f. (in the parallel passage 2 Sam. viii. 13 f. Edom has been corrupted into Aram); 1 Kings xi. 15 f.; 2 Kings viii. 20.

[2] Winckler, "Muṣri, Meluḫḫa, Ma'in," in *Mitteil. d. vorderas. Gesellschaft*, 1898, 1, 4; *Encyclopædia Biblica*, "Hadad," 3; "Mizraim," 2b. Winckler's theory that the Hadad story has arisen from the combination of two independent narratives (*Alttest. Untersuchungen*, 1892, pp. 1–6) does not commend itself as probable.

[3] See pp. 163, 175. [4] See p. 188.

With the rich and powerful Phœnicians David wisely maintained peace. In the later years of his reign, when his campaigns were over and he had leisure to beautify Jerusalem, he concluded an arrangement with Hiram I., king of Tyre, by which he was furnished with cedar-wood and was sent carpenters and masons to build him a palace on Mount Zion.[1] The statement is interesting as showing that the Phœnicians had lost none of the skill that characterized them during the Amarna period, and that the Israelites had not yet developed an independent art. This Hiram son of Abibaal is the first king in the list of Menander,[2] and with him the consecutive history of Phœnicia begins. According to the calculations of Niese and Rühl he began to reign in 969 B.C., and was thus a younger contemporary of David and an older contemporary of Solomon. His reign of thirty-four years was one of the most glorious in Phœnician history. He enlarged the island-fortress of Tyre by filling up a shallow, connected the island on which the temple of the Tyrian Baal was built with the main island, restored the temples of the gods, and reduced the people of Cyprus (?) to submission. To his reign belongs perhaps an archaic Phœnician inscription on a fragment of a bronze bowl found at Limassol in Cyprus, which reads: "The governor of Qartkhadasht (Carthage in Cyprus), the servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians, presents this to Baal of Lebanon, his Lord."[3]

David's later years were troubled with rebellions,

[1] 2 Sam. 5 : 11 f. [2] See Josephus, *Cont. Ap.*, i. 18

[3] *Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, i. 5; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, ii. 1.

caused partly by the ambition of his sons, and partly by the unconquerable rivalry between Judah and the northern tribes. These, however, he succeeded in quelling, and left to his successor a well consolidated kingdom, which, if not so great as tradition has supposed, was at least the chief state of Palestine and was stronger than any of the contemporary states of Syria.

David's death (*c.* 960) was followed by the revolt of several of the tributary peoples. Solomon was obliged to make war with the Aramæans on the northeast frontier, and pushed his conquests as far as Hamath Zobah,[1] whose king had formerly sent presents to David. A more formidable antagonist was Rezon, king of Damascus.[2] He was a subject of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, who fell into disfavour with his lord, much as David did with Saul, and who took up the life of a freebooter. Ultimately he gained possession of Damascus, and founded there a dynasty that was destined in the next century to inflict untold misery upon Israel. According to the received text, this event took place during the lifetime of David; but the absence of the words, "when David slew them" from one recension of the LXX. raises the suspicion that these words are a gloss. By many Rezon is identified with Hezion, the father of Tabrimmon, the father of Benhadad,[3] but others doubt this identification. Winckler holds that Hezion is a corruption of Hazael, who then must be regarded as the successor of Rezon.

Beyond this brief notice we know nothing of the

[1] 2 Chron. viii. 3. [2] 1 Kings viii. 23–25. [3] 1 Kings xv. 18.

growth of the Damascene kingdom. In the next generation it stood out conspicuously as the head of the Aramæan confederacy, and for more than a century it was able to thwart the political ambition of Assyria. This eminence it owed, partly to its magnificent strategic position in a fertile plain at the intersection of several of the great trade-routes of Western Asia, and partly to the genius of Rezon, who freed it from the control of Zobah.

Another foe of Solomon during the early years of his reign was the young prince Hadad III., who had escaped from Edom to Mutsri at the time of David's conquest.[1] He was now grown up; and, hoping to recover his birthright, had gone down to Egypt and had sought the favour of the Pharaoh, presumably Psu-khaʿemne II., who had received him kindly and had given him his sister-in-law as a wife.[2] So soon as he heard of David's death, he obtained permission to return to his native land and to lay claim to the throne of his fathers.[3] In this attempt he was doubtless seconded by Egypt, which was becoming jealous of the growing power of the new Palestinian kingdom.

He seems to have been unsuccessful, for Solomon retained possession of the port of Ezion-geber on the Elanitic Gulf in the land of Edom, which he used in his later naval enterprises.

Finding that Solomon was not to be overcome, the

[1] See p. 185.

[2] It is hardly probable that we should read Pir'u, king of Mutsri, instead of Pharaoh, king of Mitsraim. See pp. 243, 246.

[3] 1 Kings xi. 14–22.

Pharaoh determined to make peace with him, and bestowed upon him one of his daughters in marriage. At this time occurred the first intervention of Egypt in the affairs of Palestine of which we have any record since the days of Ramessu III. The city of Gezer (Tell Jezer), a strong natural fortress in the North Shephelah, which had remained in the hands of the Canaanites down to this late date, was captured by the Pharaoh, and was given to Solomon as a dowry.[1] It is hardly necessary to suppose with Müller[2] that Philistia must first have been conquered by the Pharaoh before he could take possession of Gezer. That land had been subdued already by David, and Solomon would oppose no obstacle to passing through it, if the aim were to assist in reducing a troublesome Canaanitish stronghold. In return for this service he must have given an equivalent. It is not likely that he paid tribute, or in any way acknowledged the Pharaoh as his suzerain; more probably he entered into an agreement to keep open the roads between Mesopotamia and Phœnicia and Egypt. Gezer had been a constant menace to the caravan-traffic, and this was probably the reason why the Pharaoh was anxious that it should come into the hands of his ally.

Peace having been established with the neighbouring nations, Solomon was able to carry out his cherished ambition of erecting costly buildings. At the beginning of his reign he entered into negotiations with Hiram, king of Tyre, to supply him with wood and with workmen. On a slight elevation to the

[1] 1 Kings ix. 16. [2] *Asien und Europa*, p. 390.

north of David's old citadel he established a new residence, which he probably connected with the old one by a bridge over the narrow valley. There he built the House of the Forest of Lebanon, the Porch of Pillars, the Porch of the Throne, the House of Pharaoh's Daughter, and the Temple. To pay for these colossal undertakings he used the treasures that his father had accumulated, and turned over to Hiram a portion of his annual revenue in grain and oil. When this did not suffice, he ceded twenty towns in the land of Cabul on the Phœnician frontier.[1]

As an offset to his expenditures he attempted to increase his income by commercial enterprises. Controlling, as he did, all the caravan-routes between Egypt and Asia, he was able to play the part of middleman and to collect a profit on every article that passed through his hands. It is expressly stated that he carried on a large business in providing horses and chariots for the Hittite and Aramæan kings.[2] With the help of the Tyrians he built and manned a fleet of vessels at Ezion-geber on the Elanitic arm of the Red Sea in the land of Edom. This fleet went to South Arabia, whence it brought back gold and the products of the flourishing Minæan and Sabæan civilizations. It is even recorded that the Queen of Sheba (Sabæa) paid Solomon a visit at Jerusalem. In the Mediterranean also he had a fleet, which sailed presumably from Dor, and went as far as Tartessus in Spain.[3]

These expeditions brought in great wealth, but not sufficient to meet the cost of his buildings, or to main-

[1] 1 Kings v. 8–11; ix. 11–13. [2] 1 Kings x. 27–29.
[3] 1 Kings ix. 26; x. 25.

tain the state in which he lived. Consequently, as a last resort, he was compelled to increase the taxes. Through this measure he alienated the loyalty of the people, particularly those of the northern tribes. Incited by the prophet Ahijah of Shiloh, Jeroboam, the overseer of the house of Joseph, started a revolution, and attempted to hold the fortress of Zeredah. Failing in this, he fled to Egypt and found refuge with Shishak I., the founder of the XXIId, or Libyan dynasty, who came to the throne about 940 B.C.[1]

So soon as he heard of Solomon's death, Jeroboam returned and put himself at the head of the discontented. Shechem was the centre of their operations, and thither assembled the representatives of all the northern tribes. Rehoboam also came up from Jerusalem to persuade the elders to submit to his rule. The condition demanded by them was that he should reduce the burdens of taxation and of enforced labour. His older counsellors urged him to accede to this reasonable request, but the men of his own generation advised him to beat the people into submission. Rehoboam took the advice of the latter, and answered: "My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." On hearing this, the northern tribes at once revolted, and made Jeroboam king (*c.* 931). Rehoboam had difficulty in escaping to Jerusalem, and Adoniram (Adoram), his tax-gatherer, was stoned to death.[2]

Thus the life-work of David was destroyed at a single blow. Israel was divided into two petty king-

[1] 1 Kings xi. 26–40. [2] 1 Kings xii.

doms, neither of which was strong enough to resist the attacks of its neighbours. Judah alone continued loyal to Rehoboam, together with a few towns of Benjamin in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem. Moab and Ammon fell to the share of Jeroboam, but seem not to have been long retained by him, since Omri was obliged to reconquer them.[1] Edom remained a dependency of Rehoboam.[2] The northern kingdom was by far the richer and stronger of the two; it therefore retained the old national name of Israel, leaving for the other kingdom only the tribal name of Judah.

War between the two monarchs was inevitable, since Rehoboam could not see his heritage wrested from him without an effort to recover it. He had the advantage of a standing army and of the wealth accumulated in Jerusalem, but he did not succeed in subduing his rival. He was obliged to content himself with the erection of a line of fortresses and the maintenance of ceaseless border-warfare.[3]

In the fifth year of Rehoboam (*c.* 926), according to 1 Kings xiv. 25, Shishak (Sheshonq) I., king of Egypt, invaded Palestine. He was the descendant of a line of Libyan generals that had gradually grown so powerful that it was able to overthrow the Tanite kings and to seat one of its members on the throne. With him began the XXIId dynasty, which lasted for over 200 years. He was an energetic monarch, who was filled with the ambition to reconquer the provinces that Egypt had lost 200 years before. So long

[1] See p. 202. [2] *Cf.* 1 Kings xxii. 47.

[3] 2 Chron. xi. 5-12; 1 Kings xiv. 30; xv. 6.

as Solomon lived and Israel was united, he did not venture to attack; but when the kingdom was rent in twain, he deemed that a favourable opportunity had come to carry out his designs. Invading Palestine, he captured Jerusalem, and carried off the treasures of the temple and of the palace, including the golden shields that Solomon had made for his body-guard.[1]

The record of this campaign he engraved upon the south wall of the temple of Karnak, near the inscription of Ramessu II.[2] It depicts 133 Asiatics with ropes about their necks, bearing shields on which are inscribed the names of captured towns. Among these may be identified with certainty Gazzatu (Gaza), Tanaka (Taanach), Shanama (Shunem), Ruhaba (Rehob), Haparuma (Hapharaim), Mahanaima (Mahanaim), Qeba'ana (Gibeon), Bitihuarun (Bethhoron), Aiyalun (Ajalon), Maketa (Megiddo), Yaudhamaruk (according to Champollion and Rosellini, Judahmelek; according to Brugsch and Maspero, Jehud-ha-melek; according to Müller and Renouf, Yad-ha-melek), Aluna (Elyon, see p. 79), Biti-'Aniti (Beth-Anath). Nearly all these places are in the northern kingdom. This makes it plain that Shishak could not have come up to help Jeroboam against Rehoboam, as one might infer from the Biblical narrative, which speaks only of an attack upon Jerusalem.

This was a mere plundering expedition of the ancient type in which both kingdoms suffered. The

[1] 1 Kings xiv. 25–28.

[2] Maspero, *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, xxvii., pp. 63-122; Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 166–169.

scanty Biblical account mentions only the misfortune of Judah, while the Egyptian monument is mutilated in the portion that probably contained the list of Judæan towns. The last name of the list, Yaura . . . Maspero restores to Yaurashalama (Jerusalem). The smallness of Shishak's conquests, in contrast with those of the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty, is striking; the northernmost town that he mentions does not lie beyond the Plain of Jezreel. The Phœnician cities and all Syria were left undisturbed. To make up for this, he enumerated every obscure village that he visited, and so succeeded in making his list as long at least as those of his great predecessors.

Abijah, the son of Rehoboam (915), maintained his father's quarrel with Jeroboam,[1] but apparently with less success. In the long run the greater wealth and the larger population of the northern kingdom were sure to count, and besides Judah suffered more heavily than Israel at the hands of Shishak. According to 1 Kings xv. 19, Abijah sought the aid of Tabrimmon (Tab-Ramman), king of Damascus, and bribed him to attack Jeroboam from the north. The Aramæan king was glad of an excuse to make war, since Israel controlled the best caravan-route between Damascus and the sea; in fact, it was the effort to secure this route which led to the constant warfare between Syria and Israel from the days of Solomon onward. Abijah thus obtained relief; and attacking Jeroboam in the rear, while he was busy with the Syrians, inflicted a severe defeat upon him and annexed the

[1] 1 Kings xv. 7b.

cities of Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron.[1] As a result "Abijah waxed mighty, and took unto himself fourteen wives, and begat twenty and two sons and sixteen daughters."[2] In spite of temporary success, however, the appeal to Damascus was a short-sighted policy. By weakening Israel Abijah destroyed the only barrier between his kingdom and Syria. His descendants had to pay the penalty of his mistake.

About 913 Asa came to the throne of Judah, and two years later Nadab succeeded Jeroboam in Israel (911). Nadab did not reign long, for his father's reverses had made his dynasty unpopular. In the following year Baasha, the Issacharite, slew him as he was besieging the Philistine city of Gibbethon, and made himself king. Baasha came to terms with Ben-hadad[3] (Bir-hidri) I., who in the meantime (*c.* 900) had succeeded Tabrimmon in the sovereignty of Damascus; and thus was able to renew the struggle with Judah.[4] By building the fortress of Ramah he shut off trade with the North and reduced Asa to great straits. Finding that he could not dislodge him, Asa gathered the treasure that was left in Jerusalem

[1] 2 Chron. xiii. 2–20. [2] 2 Chron. xiii. 21.

[3] In Assyrian the name is written *IM-'idri*. *IM* is the ideogram for the god Ramman, who is supposed by many to be identical with the Canaanitish Hadad; hence they read the name Hadad-'idri, and regard it as the equivalent of Hadadezer. But *IM* has also the value *bir* or *bur*, and it is more natural to choose this, and to read Bir-'idri, *i.e.*, "Bir is my glory." In that case Ben-hadad has arisen by confusion of *Bir* with *bar*, Hebrew *ben* "son," and of *hidri* with *Hadad*. Instead of Ben-hadad a more accurate form of the name, accordingly, is probably Bir-hidri. See Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, pp. 68 ff.

[4] 1 Kings xv. 19.

and sent it to Benhadad, begging him to break his treaty with Baasha. Benhadad perfidiously consented, and invaded the northern kingdom; whereupon Baasha was obliged to abandon Ramah. Asa then went up with his army, removed the wood and the stone, and with them rebuilt Geba of Benjamin as a border-fortress against Israel.[1] He thus advanced the frontier, but not so far as his father had done. Whether Benhadad at this time reduced Baasha to subjection we do not know. Between Judah and Israel war continued to drag on for many years.[2] At some time in the reign of Asa 2 Chron. xiv. 9–15 places an invasion of Judah by Zerah, the Cushite. In 2 Chron. xvi. 8 the Cushites are said to have been accompanied by Lubim or Libyans, and this has led to the hypothesis that Zerah was a Nubian who usurped the throne of Egypt, and that he is to be identified either with Osorkon I. or with Osorkon II., the successors of Shishak. Sayce[3] decides for Osorkon II. and appeals to an inscription found by Naville at Bubastis in which this king states that "Upper and Lower Ruten are cast under his feet."

It is to be noted, however, that the Libyans do not occur in the main narrative of Zerah's campaign, but only in a speech composed by the Chronicler himself. They show that he identified Cush with Nubia, but do not prove that this was the view of the documents on which he based his history. There is nothing to indicate that a change of dynasty occurred after Shishak, and he was not a Nubian

[1] 1 Kings xv. 17–32. [2] 1 Kings xv. 16.

[3] *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 363.

but a Libyan. Moreover, the name Osorkon has no affinity with Zerah, and the claim to have subdued Upper and Lower Ruten is a boast that is unsubstantiated by other evidence. Accordingly, the tendency among critics of late has been to deny the possibility of a Nubian invasion in the reign of Asa, and to regard this narrative as a dogmatic invention of the Chronicler.

Another explanation of the passage is, however, possible. 2 Chron. xxi. 16 mentions Arabians who dwell beside the Cushites, and numerous other passages of the Old Testament imply the existence of an Arabian Cush as well as of a Nubian.[1] This land has also been found in the Assyrian monuments.[2] In view of these facts it is probable that we have to do here with an invasion of Judah by a South Arabian monarch. From what we know through recent discoveries in Arabia of the glory of the Minæan kingdom during this period it does not seem improbable that one of its rulers should have undertaken an invasion of Palestine.[3]

During the lifetime of Asa, Baasha died and was succeeded by his son Elah (886). The following year, while carousing with his chamberlain Arza in Tirzah, the capital, he was assassinated by Zimri, the commander of half his chariots. Zimri slew the family of Baasha, and seated himself on the throne; but the army, which was besieging the Philistine stronghold of Gibbethon, refused to recognize him, and

[1] *Encyclopædia Biblica*, "Cush," 2.

[2] Winckler, *Mitteilungen d. vorderas. Gesell.*, 1898, 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1, p. 47; Hommel, in Hilprecht, *Recent Research*, p. 155

proclaimed Omri, its commander, king. He succeeded in capturing Tirzah, upon which Zimri set fire to the royal palace and perished in the flames. Omri then reigned, and became the founder of one of the most brilliant dynasties in Hebrew history.

CHAPTER XI

THE ADVANCE OF ASSYRIA

885–745 B.C.

IN 885 B.C., probably the same year in which Omri usurped the throne of Israel, Ashur-natsir-pal III. began to reign. For more than 100 years Assyria had been feeble. Aramæan hordes had seized the lands on both sides of the Euphrates, and had cut Nineveh off from communication with the Mediterranean. The successors of Tiglath-pileser I. were engaged in constant warfare with these barbarians, and were unable to maintain his conquests in the West. Not until the time of Ashurnatsirpal did Assyria once more rouse herself, and begin a career of conquest that was never long interrupted until after the death of Ashurbanipal in 626 B.C. With Ashurnatsirpal, accordingly, there opened a new period in the history of Syria and Palestine. Here for the first time the *Eponym Canon* affords the possibility of an exact chronology.[1]

From 885 to 879 B.C. Ashurnatsirpal was occupied in reducing to submission the tribes on the border of his kingdom, but in 878 he began to push

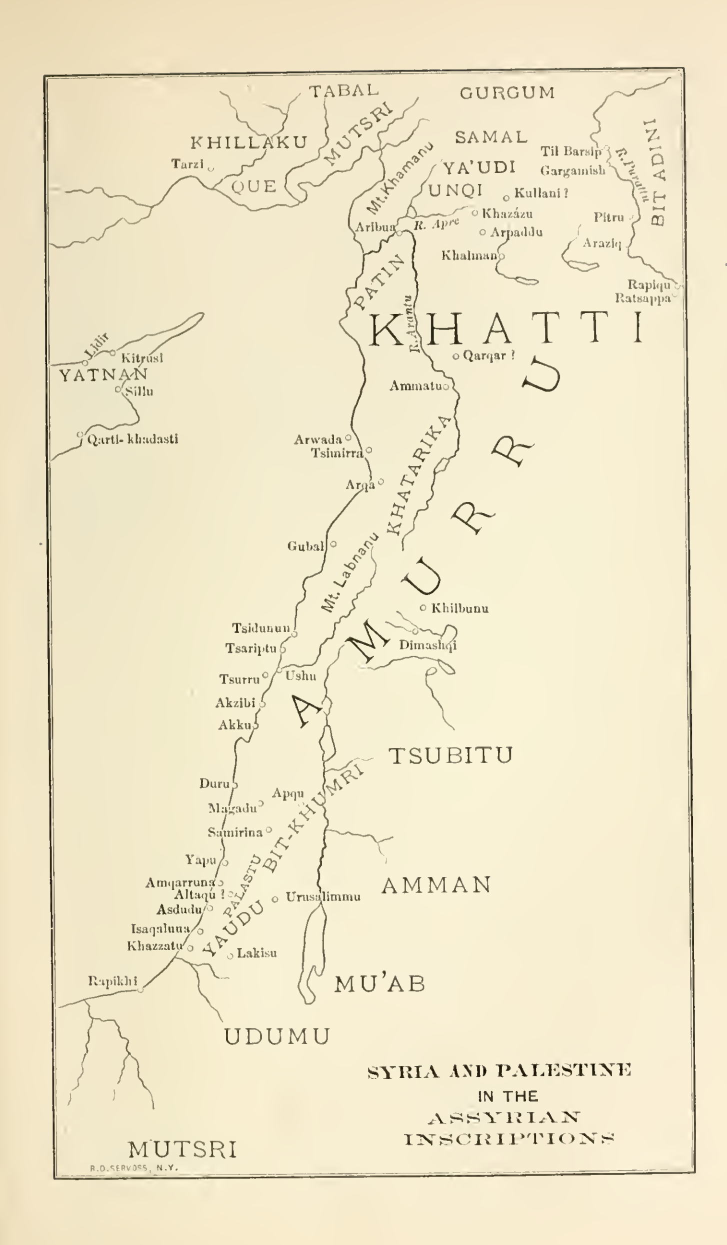
[1] *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i., pp. 204–215.

westward.[1] The powerful Aramæan kingdom of Bit-Adini, which occupied the place of the old kingdom of Mitanni between the Euphrates and the Balikh, and which had supported the smaller Aramæan states along the Khabur and lower Euphrates in hostility to Assyria, was invaded and its king Akhuni was compelled to pay tribute. The following year (877) Akhuni was again defeated; and taking fright at the nearness of Ashurnatsirpal, a number of princes beyond the Euphrates sent their presents.

In 876, for the first time since the days of Tiglath-pileser I., the Euphrates was crossed. Carchemish, the capital of a Hittite kingdom on the west bank of the river, surrendered, and its king Sangara[2] gave hostages and paid a heavy tribute. West of Carchemish lay the kingdom of Patin, which reached almost to the shore of the Mediterranean. Its first city was Khazazi ('Azaz), which yielded a rich plunder of gold and embroidered garments. Thence Ashurnatsirpal crossed the river Apri (Afrin) into the district of Unqi ('Amq), where lay Kunalua, the capital of Lubarna, king of Patin. Here also an enormous spoil was taken, and Lubarna was compelled to join his forces to the army of his conqueror. Turning south-westward and crossing the Orontes, Ashurnatsirpal reached the city of Aribua, which belonged to the kingdom of Patin, and established there a permanent

[1] Our main source for the history of Ashurnatsirpal is the *Annals*, translated by Sayce in *Records of the Past, New Series*, ii., pp. 128–177, and by Peiser, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i., pp. 50–122.

[2] Compare Shamgar in Jud. v. 6; see p. 158.



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Assyrian garrison and store-house for provisions. Thence he marched to the coast, where he cleansed his arms in the "Great Sea of the land of the Amorites," and advanced southward along the coast as far as the Nahr-el-Kelb, where he set up a monument beside those of the ancient kings of Egypt.[1] Here he received the tribute of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, Arvad, the Amorites, and other districts which dreaded his advance and sought thus to buy him off. On the way back he despatched a plundering expedition into Cilicia, and felled cedars and cypresses in Mount Amanus for his buildings at Nineveh.[2] As a result of this campaign the whole of Northern Syria lay at his feet, and the trade-route to the Mediterranean was once more open. With Arpad, Hamath, and Damascus he did not venture to fight. That task remained for his successor, Shalmaneser II.

Unlike Tiglath-pileser I., who was content with plundering expeditions, Ashurnatsirpal attempted to keep a permanent hold upon his conquests. The kings who submitted were reinstated, were assigned an annual tribute, and were required to give their children as hostages. Those who refused to submit were deposed, and other members of the native royal families were put in their places. If states rebelled, they were reconquered and their tribute was increased. If they repeated the offence, their autonomy was taken from them, and they were incorporated into the Assyrian empire. If they again revolted, they were wasted with fire and sword and their people

[1] See p. 127.

[2] *Annals*, iii. 51-92; *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, i. 102–111.

were enslaved. At strategic points throughout the conquered territory strongholds were garrisoned with Assyrian troops, in which grain was stored, and through which tribute was collected. This method of governing differed little from that adopted by the Egyptian conqueror Tahutimes III. Six hundred years had brought practically no change in the political administration of the Orient. Whether Syria were under the rule of Egypt, or under the rule of Assyria, its lot was equally miserable.

While Ashurnatsirpal was conquering Northern Syria, Omri was busy establishing his authority over Israel. In 885 he defeated Zimri. Four years later he overthrew Tibni, a rival claimant of the throne. He then formed an alliance with Ethbaal (Eithobalos), the eighth king of Menander's list, who came to the throne of Tyre in 887. Jezebel, the daughter of this king, he took as wife for his son, acknowledging thus the controlling influence of Phœnicia in Israelitish politics.[1] Both kings were anxious to resist the encroachments of the Aramæans, and to keep control of the trade-routes that led to the Mediterranean, and in the partnership it was natural that Ethbaal should take the lead. The little that we know about him shows that he was a powerful monarch who founded new cities in Phœnicia and new colonies in Africa.

After this alliance Omri felt himself strong enough to attack Moab, which since the division of Israel had probably been independent. According to the *Mesha Inscription*, which is our only source of information, "Omri was king over Israel, and he afflicted

[1] 1 Kings xvi. 15–31.

Moab many days, because Chemosh was angry with his land . . . and Omri took possession of the land of Medeba. . . . And the king of Israel built for himself Ataroth. . . . And the king of Israel built Jahaz, and abode in it while he fought against me."[1] The southernmost cities remained in the hands of the Moabites, but Chemosh-melek, their king, was compelled to pay tribute to Omri, presumably the same tribute that his son Mesha paid later to Ahab, 100,000 rams and the wool of 100,000 lambs.[2]

In his seventh year, finding that Tirzah could not be properly defended, Omri abandoned it and chose as a new capital the fortress of Samaria. With the spoil of his Moabite campaign, presumably, he bought the site; and rebuilt the town in approved military style.[3]

Against the Aramæans he fought with little success. According to 1 Kings xx. 34, Benhadad I. took cities from him, and obtained the right to establish a quarter for his merchants in Samaria. Damascus thus secured the route to the Mediterranean, for which it had fought since the days of Solomon. With Asa of Judah, who outlived six kings of Israel, Omri seems to have kept the peace, at least no conflicts are recorded in Kings or in Chronicles; and according to 2 Chron. xvii. 2, Jehoshaphat at the beginning of his reign still retained possession of the cities in Ephraim that his father had captured.

Omri was a military genius and political organizer

[1] *Mesha Inscription*, lines 7–10; see p. 216; *cf.* 2 Kings i. 1; iii. 5.

[2] 2 Kings iii. 4. [3] 1 Kings xvi. 24.

of the first rank, and he brought the northern kingdom to a position of influence such as it never enjoyed before. The fame of his power spread as far as Assyria, where Israel received the names of Mat-Khumri or Bit-Khumri, "the Land, or House of Omri." At a later date, under Rammannirari III. and Tiglath-pileser III., it continued to bear these names; and, even after his dynasty had fallen, its kings were still known as "sons of Omri."

In 874 Ahab succeeded Omri upon the throne of Israel, and the following year Jehoshaphat succeeded Asa as king of Judah. About the same time Benhadad II., who on account of 1 Kings xx. 34 must not be identified with Benhadad I., began to reign over Damascus. Ahab's first effort was to break the power of Judah. 1 Kings xvi. 34 records that in his day a certain Hiel (LXX. Ahiel = Ahab?) fortified Jericho, sacrificing to the local Baal his first-born when he laid the foundation, and another son when he set up the gates.[1] This event marks an encroachment upon Judæan territory, and a determination to close the roads to its trade. According to 2 Chron. xvii. 1 f. Jehoshaphat was obliged to strengthen himself against Israel, and to place garrisons in all the walled cities of his land. Before long he must have been worsted, although this is not recorded in either Kings or Chronicles, since in 1 Kings xxii. and 2 Kings iii. he appears as a vassal in the army of the king of Israel. The marriage of Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram to Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel,[2] which

[1] See Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, i., p. 163, n. 3.

[2] 1 Kings xxii. 44; 2 Kings viii. 18, 26.

must have occurred about 865, indicates also a controlling influence of Israel in the politics of Judah. From this time onward, down to the reign of Uzziah, Judah was a subject-state that held much the same relation to Israel as did Moab. It was permitted to retain its autonomy, but it was obliged to pay tribute and to furnish a contingent of troops. In none of the annals of the Assyrian kings of this period is it named, doubtless because it was regarded as nothing more than an appendage of Israel. The drought in the reign of Ahab recorded in 1 Kings xvii. is plausibly identified with the drought mentioned in the annals of Tyre as occurring during the reign of Ethbaal.[1]

Between 876 and the year of his death, Ashurnatsirpal undertook no new expeditions into Northern Syria. His authority seems to have remained unquestioned, and his tribute to have been paid regularly; but when in 860 his son Shalmaneser II. came to the throne, there was the usual outbreak that in the ancient Orient always attended a change of rulers.[2] In his coronation year Shalmaneser established his authority in Armenia, and in 859 he took up

[1] Josephus, *Antiq.*, viii. 13, 2.

[2] Our sources for the history of Shalmaneser are (1) *The Black Obelisk*, Layard, 87–98; translated by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i. 128–151, and by Scheil, *Records of the Past*, *New Series*, iv. 39 ff.; (2) *The Monolith*, Rawlinson, iii. 7, 8, translated by Craig, *Hebraica*, 1887, pp. 201 ff.; Peiser, *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, i. 150–175; and Scheil, *Records of the Past*, *New Series*, iv. 55 ff.; (3) *The Bronze Gates of Balawat*, Pinches, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæology*, vii., pp. 83 ff.; Amiaud and Scheil, *Records of the Past*, *New Series*, iv. 74 ff.

anew the conquest of the West. Akhuni of Bit-Adini was once more in revolt, but he was easily subdued. Then Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates in the usual way on rafts supported upon inflated sheep-skins, and began a triumphal progress through the Hittite states of Northern Syria. Sangara of Carchemish,[1] Sapalulme of Patin, the successor of Lubarna,[2] Khani of Sam'al (a district to the north of Patin, of which the modern Zenjirli was the centre), Mutallu[3] of Gurgum (a district north of Sam'al, of which Marash was the capital) were defeated and were placed once more under tribute. Shalmaneser then passed through Patin over the route followed by Ashurnatsirpal, destroying the cities as he went, as far as the Mediterranean.[4]

In 858 Akhuni of Bit-Adini once more revolted, and had to be chastised still more severely. Shalmaneser then crossed the Euphrates, and received the tribute of the states that he had subdued in the previous year. In 857 Akhuni was again attacked, and in 856 he was taken captive and brought with his family and all his goods to Assyria. Bit-Adini was made an Assyrian province and the power of the Aramæans east of the Euphrates was at an end.[5] Mesopotamia thus became once more an integral part of the Assyrian empire, as it had been in the days of Tiglath-pileser I. The way was now open for an advance upon Damascus, the other great Aramæan

[1] See p. 200. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Compare the names of the old Hittite kings, p. 106.

[4] *Obelisk*, 27–31; *Monolith*, i. 29–ii. 13.

[5] *Obelisk*, 32–51; *Monolith*, ii. 13–75.

power, which up to this time no Assyrian monarch had ventured to touch.

During the four years in which Shalmaneser was occupied with the destruction of the kingdom of Bit-Adini, Benhadad II. of Damascus made superhuman efforts to gather an army strong enough to withstand the shock that was certain to come in the near future. Negotiations were carried on with all the princes from Arabia to Cilicia to secure their promise to fight against the common enemy. Ahab of Israel was unwilling to join the coalition, and it was probably to compel his consent that Benhadad about 857 undertook the siege of Samaria recorded in 1 Kings xx. 1–21. A duplicate account of this siege in 2 Kings vi. 24–vii. 20 has been erroneously assigned by the compiler of Kings to the reign of Jehoram.

The siege was unsuccessful, for Ahab sent out a picked company of knights, who fell upon the Syrians unexpectedly and made them think that he had hired against them the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Mitsrayim, in consequence of which they were thrown into panic, and fled, leaving their baggage on the field. Mitsrayim (Mitsrim?) ordinarily means Egypt, but a combination of Egypt with the Hittites at this time is inconceivable. It is necessary, accordingly, with Winckler[1] to suppose that this is another instance of the confusion of Mutsrim with Mitsrim;[2] in this case, however, it is not the North Arabian Mutsri that is meant, but another Mutsri in Cilicia that we have met already in the annals of Tiglath-

[1] *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, 171 ff. [2] See pp. 185, 243.

pileser I.[1] Only at this point in the history, when the Hittite states and Mutsri still enjoyed autonomy, but as vassals of Assyria were likely to take up arms against Damascus, could the Syrians have suspected such a combination.

The following year Benhadad renewed the attempt to coerce Ahab,[2] but with so little success that his army was defeated at Aphek and he himself was taken prisoner. Ahab was not disposed to deal severely with him, for he realized the importance of preserving Damascus as a buffer-state between himself and the Assyrians; accordingly, he released him, on condition that he should restore all the cities that his father had taken from Omri, and should allow the Israelitish merchants to establish a quarter in Damascus.

The Book of Kings gives the impression that Benhadad molested Ahab no more, but the Assyrian annals record that in 854 Ahab fought as Benhadad's ally at the battle of Qarqar. In 855, accordingly, an expedition must have occurred in which Ahab was worsted, lost Ramoth Gilead,[3] and was compelled after all to join the coalition against Shalmaneser.

In 854 Shalmaneser was ready for a supreme effort to overthrow Damascus. Crossing the Euphrates, he encamped in the city of Pitru, where he received the homage and the tribute of the kings of the Hittites, of Northern Mesopotamia, and of the region between the Taurus and the Anti-Taurus. Thence he proceeded to Khalman (Aleppo), which surrendered and

[1] See pp. 178, 209. [2] 1 Kings xx. 26–34.
[3] Cf. 1 Kings xxii. 3.

paid tribute. The god of Khalman Shalmaneser identified with his own Ramman (Adad?) and presented him with sacrifices. Apparently this is an instance of the survival of old Babylonian influence in Syria. From Khalman Shalmaneser advanced into the hostile territory of Ammatu (Hamath), plundering and destroying as he went, until he arrived at Qarqar. Here he fell in with Bir-'idri (Benhadad) and his Syrian allies. Benhadad himself brought 1,200 chariots, 1,200 horsemen, and 20,000 infantry; Irkhulina of Hamath, 700 chariots, 700 horsemen, and 10,000 infantry; Ahab of Israel, 2,000 chariots, and 10,000 men; the king of Que (the Cilician sea-coast), 500 men; the king of Mutsri (a district north of Que, between the Taurus and the Anti-Taurus),[1] 1,000 men; the king of Irqana, 10 chariots, and 10,000 men; Matin-Baal of Arvad, 200 men; the king of Usanati, 200 men; Adon-Baal of Shiana (North Phœnicia, the Sinim of Is. xlix. 12), 30 chariots, and 10,000 men; Gindibu, the Arabian,[2] 1,000 camels; Baasha, son of Rukhub, the Ammonite, 1,000 men.[3]

The omissions from this list are as significant as are the insertions. Baal-azar, king of Tyre, who succeeded Ethbaal about 855, was not a vassal of Benhadad, and felt himself safe enough not to send troops. Judah also is not mentioned, doubtless because its king was a vassal of Ahab and furnished part of his contingent of 10,000 troops. Moab is not named for the same reason. Edom was a province

[1] See p. 207.

[2] This is the first occurrence of the name Arabian.

[3] *Obelisk*, 54–66; *Monolith*, ii. 78–102.

of Judah, and was probably included with Judah in the forces of Ahab.

Shalmaneser represents himself as victorious in the battle against these allies; but he annexed no new territory, and immediately afterward returned home. It is clear that in Damascus he for the first time met a foe who could oppose him on anything like equal terms.

In 853, the year after the battle of Qarqar, Ahab deemed that a favourable time had come to throw off the yoke of Benhadad, and attempted to reconquer Ramoth-Gilead that he had lost in the last war. Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, when summoned to take part in the expedition, replied like a loyal vassal, "I am as thou art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses." Fearing the fulfilment of an adverse prophecy of Micaiah, Ahab fought in disguise, while he compelled Jehoshaphat to wear his royal robes; but in the engagement he himself was pierced by a random arrow. He fought on manfully until evening, and then expired, his death being the signal for the flight of the Israelites.[1]

Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, was crippled in consequence of a fall from the roof of his palace, and therefore was unable to rule with his father's firm hand. Mesha, king of Moab, revolted, and refused to pay the tribute that Omri had imposed on his father.[2] In connection with this revolt we may plausibly place the invasion of Judah by the Moabites, Ammonites, and some of the Meunim[3] narrated in 2 Chron. xx.

[1] 1 Kings xxii. 1–40. [2] 1 Kings i. 1; iii. 5.

[3] Following the text of the LXX.

The Meunim are doubtless the Ma'inim, or Minæans, whose South Arabian empire made known to us by the recently discovered Minæan inscriptions, was still flourishing in the time of Jehoshaphat. That the Moabites should have enlisted their help in an attack upon Israel is precisely what the historical situation would lead us to expect. The Arabians (in the narrow sense of the word) were just beginning to push out in all directions from Central Arabia. They are first mentioned among the allies of Benhadad against Shalmaneser, and from this time onward we shall find many traces of their aggression until the movement culminates (*c.* 500 B.C.) in the Nabatæan migration. In consequence of this advance the Bedawin of the Aramæan and Minæan groups were forced out of their old homes and were obliged to enter Syria and Palestine. Both Moab and Edom received large influxes of new population. In 2 Chron. xx. 10 the Minæans of verse 1 are described as "inhabitants of Mount Seir." The names of the Edomite kings mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions are of a different type from those found in the list of Gen. xxxvi.; this also points to the occupation of the land by a new population. To this infusion of new blood was due the fresh vitality that both Moab and Edom began to manifest at this time. Both succeeded presently in throwing off the yoke of Israel and in establishing themselves as independent nations. The beginning of this movement is seen in the attack of the Moabites and Minæans upon Jehoshaphat. He succeeded in repelling it, but his victory was only a postponement of the evil day.

Toward the feeble Ahaziah Jehoshaphat manifested an independent spirit that he had never dared show in his dealings with Ahab. Hoping to increase his revenue, and thus to free himself from the control of Israel, he constructed a fleet in Ezion-geber on the Elanitic Gulf in the land of Edom to go to Ophir.[1] Edom still remained a Judæan province, as it had been since the time of David; in fact, we are told expressly that there was no king in Edom, but only a deputy of the king of Judah. When Ahaziah heard what Jehoshaphat was doing, he expressed a desire to participate; but the latter, not wishing to share the anticipated profits, refused his request. The fleet was wrecked before it had got under way, and Jehoshaphat was obliged to humble himself once more.

Ahaziah lived scarcely more than a year after his accession, and in 852 was succeeded by his brother Joram (Jehoram). His first effort was to reconquer Moab.[2] To this end he gathered his forces, and summoned to his aid the aged Jehoshaphat, who had been on the throne ever since the beginning of the reign of Ahab. The Edomites also, as vassals of Judah, probably furnished their contingent of troops.[3] While traversing the land of Edom the army was at one time in danger of perishing from thirst; but, at the suggestion of the prophet Elisha, it dug trenches and found an abundant supply of water. The Moab-

[1] 1 Kings xxii. 47 ff. [2] 2 Kings iii.

[3] The mention of a king of Edom in 2 Kings iii. is inconsistent with the statement of 2 Kings xxii. 47, and must be regarded as an editorial gloss due to the fact that the troops are said to have traversed the territory of Edom.

ite forces were defeated on the border of their land, and were pursued as far as Kir-hareseth, the capital. Mesha, king of Moab, fearing that he would not be able to hold out, took a picked force of 700 men and tried to escape to the king of Syria;[1] but the *sortie* was a failure. Then, as a last resort, he offered his eldest son upon the wall as a burnt offering to appease the anger of his god Chemosh. "And there was great wrath against Israel," so says the Hebrew record; that is, Chemosh turned his indignation away from Moab and against Israel. How this change showed itself, whether a plague broke out, or whether the Israelites were disheartened at the sight of Mesha's offering so that they no longer fought well, the narrative does not tell us. At all events, they failed to take Kir-hareseth, and had to content themselves with wasting the land and reimposing tribute.

This was Jehoshaphat's last campaign. In 850 he died and was succeeded by his son Jehoram (Joram), who, in true Oriental fashion, slew all his brethren when he came to the throne.[2] The following year he was summoned by his kinsman and suzerain, Joram of Israel, to help Benhadad against Assyria. Shalmaneser, having disposed of matters in Babylonia between the years 854 and 850, was ready in 849 for another attempt upon Damascus. Crossing the Euphrates, he captured eighty-nine towns and pressed on toward the south. Against him came "the twelve kings of the land of the Hittites," among them doubtless Joram of Israel, although he is not expressly

[1] Read Aram instead of Edom. [2] 2 Chron. xxi. 4.

named. Another great battle was fought, in which Shalmaneser was no more successful than in the battle of Qarqar. Although he again claimed a victory, he retired at once to Assyria.[1] In 846 he renewed his assault, this time calling out the entire fighting force of the land. He was met with an equal effort on the part of Benhadad, and was obliged again to retreat.[2]

Such warfare made a heavy drain upon the smaller states of Syria and Palestine. In the three campaigns against Shalmaneser Judah must have lost more of her fighting force than she could well spare. The result was that Edom threw off its allegiance. Jehoram attempted to subdue it; but his troops were defeated, and he himself was barely able to break through by night and escape to his own land. The Canaanitish city of Libnah to the southwest of Judah, which probably controlled the caravan-route to Egypt, also revolted at this time and attached itself apparently to the Philistines.[3]

On top of these disasters came another South Arabian invasion[4] such as had taken place in the reign of Asa.[5] The Arabians that dwelt beside the Cushites[6] came up, and were joined by the Philistines. From time immemorial Arabia and Philistia had been allies, since it was for the interest of both to keep the trade-route open between South Arabia and the Mediterranean. The object of their present attack was doubtless to rob Judah of the port of Ezion-

[1] *Obelisk*, 87–89.
[2] *Ibid.*, 91–92.
[3] 2 Kings viii. 20–22.
[4] 2 Chron. xxi. 16 f.
[5] 2 Chron. xiv.
[6] See p. 197.

geber, and thus to secure a monopoly of the trade through the Red Sea. Jehoram was unable to withstand them. Jerusalem was captured and sacked, and even the king's family was carried away, with the exception of a single son, Ahaziah. Judah was thus reduced to such an extremity that the end of its national existence seemed imminent.[1]

About 843 Hazael assassinated Benhadad, king of Damascus, and reigned in his stead.[2] All the Syrian states, which Benhadad had laboriously welded into a confederacy to oppose the advance of Assyria, immediately revolted, and he found himself confronted with the enormous task of building up a new alliance before Shalmaneser should fall upon him. Israel seems to have been the first of the rebels that he attempted to coerce,[3] and a war broke out that resulted only in the weakening of both combatants.

Taking advantage of this struggle, Mesha, king of Moab, once more revolted; and this time succeeded in establishing his independence, forty years in round numbers after the conquest by Omri. To celebrate this event he set up the famous "Moabite Stone," or "Mesha Inscription,"[4] discovered by Klein at Dibon in 1868, which reads as follows:

"I (am) Mesha, son of Chemosh-melek, king of Moab, the Dibonite. My father was king over Moab thirty years, and I became king after my father. And I made this high-place of Chemosh, a high-place (in commemoration) of deliverance, because he delivered me from all the kings (?), and because

[1] 2 Kings viii. 19. [2] 2 Kings viii. 7–15. [3] 2 Kings viii. 28.

[4] For literature see Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, pp. 4–83, and Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, article "Moab."

he let me see (my desire) upon all my enemies. Omri (was) king of Israel, and he distressed Moab many days, because Chemosh was angry with his land. And his son succeeded him; and he also said, I will distress Moab. In my days he spoke thus, (?) but I saw (my desire) upon him and upon his house, and Israel perished with an everlasting destruction. And Omri took possession of the land (?) of Medeba, and occupied it (during) his days; and (during) half of my days his son (occupied it), forty years (in all);[1] but Chemosh restored it in my days. And I built Baal-meon, and I made in it the reservoir (?); and I built Kirjathaim. And the men of Gad dwelt in Ataroth from of old, and the king of Israel built Ataroth for himself; but I fought against the city and took it. And I slew all the people of the city, as a spectacle for Chemosh and for Moab; and I brought thence the altar-hearth (?) of DWDH, and I dragged (?) it before Chemosh in Kerioth. And I settled therein the men of ShRN and the men of MKhRTh. And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel; and I went by night, and I fought against it from the break of dawn until noon. And I took it, and I slew all of them, 7,000 (men) . . . and women, and . . . . , and female slaves, for I had devoted it to Ashtar-Chemosh. And I took thence the . . . of Yahweh, and I dragged (?) them before Chemosh. Now the king of Israel had built Jahaz, and had occupied it while he fought against me; but Chemosh drove him out from before me. And I took 200 men of Moab, all its chiefs, and led them against Jahaz, and took it to add (it) to Dibon. I built QRKhH, the Wall of the Forests and the Wall of the Mound; and I built its gates, and I built its towers. And I built the house of the

[1] This translation which is proposed by Marti in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 792, is preferable to the ordinary one, "And Omri took possession of the land of Medeba, and (Israel) dwelt there his days and half his son's days, forty years," which makes Omri's reign and half of Ahab's cover a period of forty years, an assumption that throws the entire chronology of the early Hebrew kings into confusion. See Winckler, *Altorient. Forsch.* iii. 1.

king, and I made both (?) its reservoirs for water in the midst of the city. And there had been no cistern in the midst of the city in QRKhH; but I said to all the people, Make you all a cistern each in his house. And I cut out the cutting for QRKhH by (using) the prisoners (taken from) Israel. I built Aroer, and I made the road by Arnon, and I built Beth-bamoth, for it had been destroyed. I built Bezer, for (it was in ruins). (And the chiefs) of Dibon were fifty, for all Dibon was obedient. And I ruled a hundred (chiefs) in the cities which I had added unto the land. And I built Medeba (?) and Beth-diblathaim, and Beth-Baal-Maon; and I placed there the . . . sheep of the land. And Horonaim, wherein dwelt . . . and . . . Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Horonaim. And I went down . . . (And) Chemosh restored (?) it in my days. And I went up thence . . . And I. . . ."

Meanwhile the war between Israel and Damascus still went on. Ahaziah of Judah, who came to the throne in 842, was summoned by Joram to his aid, and together the kings went up to Ramoth-Gilead to fight against Hazael. Here Joram was wounded, and returned to Jezreel in company with Ahaziah, leaving the army in command of a general. At this juncture Elisha despatched one of the "sons of the prophets" to Ramoth-Gilead to anoint Jehu, and when he told his brother officers what had been done, they immediately hailed him as king. He prevented any messengers leaving the city, and proceeded himself at full speed toward Jezreel. His coming was observed from the walls, and messengers were sent out to learn his tidings; but he ordered them to follow him, and pressed on. Then the kings Joram and Ahaziah, supposing that he brought important news of the campaign at Ramoth-Gilead, drove out to meet him.

Perceiving, when it was too late, that he planned treason, they tried to flee; but Jehu drew his bow and shot Joram through the heart. Ahaziah escaped as far as Ibleam (Bel'ame), but there was wounded and died at Megiddo. Jehu then slew all the house of Omri and made himself king of Israel.[1] Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel, and mother of Ahaziah, at the same time seized the throne of Judah, slaying all the rightful heirs, except the child Joash, who was hidden in the temple by his aunt Jehoshebah.[2] Six years later he became king as the result of a successful revolt against Athaliah.

The same year 842, when all was in confusion in Palestine, Shalmaneser made another attack upon Damascus. Crossing Northern Syria, he marched along the coast to Beirut, and thence turned inland. Hazael this time stood alone, for none of the twelve kings that had joined Benhadad came to his aid. He was defeated, and was obliged to take refuge behind the walls of Damascus. Shalmaneser wasted the country, but was not able to take the capital. At this time he received the tribute of Tyre, of Sidon, and of Jehu, "the son of Omri," consisting of gold, silver, and objects of art.[3]

By this payment of tribute Jehu attempted not only to secure a title to his throne, but also to declare his independence of Damascus. Henceforth his master was to be, not Hazael, but Shalmaneser. Shalmaneser made one more unsuccessful attempt to re-

[1] 2 Kings ix.–x. [2] 2 Kings xi. 1–3.

[3] *Obelisk*, 97–99; Rawlinson, iii. 5, 6; *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, i., p. 140 f

duce Damascus in the year 839, and then gave up the attack. The remaining fourteen years of his life were occupied with campaigns in Asia Minor, Armenia, and Media, and with a revolution that broke out in Assyria. Damascus was thus given a breathing-spell, and Hazael had a chance to avenge himself on Jehu and on the other kings that had refused to help him and that had paid tribute to his rival. "And Hazael smote them in all the borders of Israel; from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the valley of Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan."[1] The war lasted all Jehu's life and into the reign of his son, and the relentless cruelty that Hazael displayed made his name infamous in Hebrew tradition.[2]

During the lifetime of Shalmaneser II. a new rival to the Assyrian empire appeared in the Armenian kingdom founded by Sarduri, son of Lutipris, with Tushpa (Van) as its capital. After the death of Shalmaneser in 825 this kingdom became so formidable an opponent that the next five kings of Assyria had to forego further conquest in the West. Shamshi-Ramman IV.,[3] the son of Shalmaneser II. (825–812), was occupied all his reign with Ispuinis, king of Armenia; and, therefore, brought no relief to Jehu or to his son Jehoahaz (815). Hazael continued to waste

[1] 2 Kings x. 32 f.

[2] 1 Kings xix. 17; 2 Kings viii. 12 f.; Amos i. 3.

[3] The only sources for his reign are the *Eponym Canon* and the inscription, Rawlinson, iv. 29–31; translated, Sayce, *Records of the Past*, i. 9–22; Abel, *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, i. 174–187.

Israel, attacking not merely the regions east of the Jordan, but also those west of it. Jehoahaz was repeatedly defeated, until, as a result of his unsuccessful campaigns, he had only 50 horsemen, 10 chariots, and 10,000 footmen left, in place of the 2,000 chariots with which Ahab had fought at the battle of Qarqar.[1] After the conquest of Israel Hazael pressed forward along the coast as far as the Philistine city of Gaza, which belonged to Judah, and thence set out to besiege Jerusalem. Joash stripped the temple and the palace of their treasures, and sent them out to him to buy him off. Hazael accepted the tribute, and returned to Damascus.[2]

In 812 Ramman-nirari III., the son of Shamshi-Ramman IV., came to the throne of Assyria;[3] and about the same time Hazael died and his son Benhadad III., who in all probability is to be identified with Mari' of the Assyrian monuments, reigned over Damascus.[4] Benhadad continued the war against Jehoahaz that his father had inaugurated, and reduced Israel to great straits, until he himself was menaced by a new Assyrian invasion. In 806 Ramman-nirari had sufficiently consolidated his power and sufficiently curbed his northern neighbours to attempt an invasion of Syria. The city of Arpad, which presumably had revolted, was subdued, and the tribute of the land of the Hittites was received.[5]

[1] 2 Kings xiii. 3, 7, 22.

[2] 2 Kings xii. 17 f.; 2 Chron xxiv. 23 f.

[3] Besides the *Eponym Canon*, our chief sources for his reign are the tablets discovered at Kalakh, translated by Sayce, *Records of the Past*, i. 3 ff.; Abel, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i. 188–193.

[4] 1 Kings xiii. 24.

[5] *Eponym List* for the year 806.

The following year Khazazu ('Azaz) in Northern Syria was visited.[1] On one of these campaigns Ramman-nirari came in conflict with Mari', king of Damascus, defeated him, and besieged his capital. It was not captured, but he was compelled to pay as ransom 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of copper, 5,000 talents of iron, variegated garments, dress-goods, an ivory couch, and an inlaid chair. Thus the prestige of Damascus was shattered; and the smaller states, Tyre, Sidon, Omriland (*i.e.*, Israel), Edom, and Philistia, hastened to send their presents to Ramman-nirari.[2] The separate mention of Edom is interesting as a confirmation of the statement of 2 Kings viii. 20–22 that Edom shortly before had shaken off its allegiance to Judah. Judah itself is not mentioned, doubtless because it still remained a vassal of Israel. The absence of Ammon and Moab from the list is more difficult to explain, as neither was subject to Jehoahaz. They may have been conquered by Hazael, or they may have regarded themselves as sufficiently remote from the scene of Ramman-nirari's operations to abstain from sending their gifts.

In combination with this defeat of Mari' is to be placed the statement of 2 Kings xiii. 4 f. that "Yahweh gave Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians, and the children of Israel dwelt in their tents as beforetime." Mari', in consequence of his defeat by the Assyrians, was unable to continue his attacks. In 797 Ramman-

[1] *Eponym List* for the year 805.

[2] *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i., p. 190 f.

nirari was again in Syria at the city of Martsuati,[1] and Mari' once more perhaps came into conflict with him. At all events, he gave Israel no more trouble for a number of years.

In 799 Jehoahaz was succeeded by Jehoash. The following year Joash, king of Judah, was succeeded by Amaziah. Under these new kings the fortunes of Israel and of Judah began to take a turn for the better. Jehoash inflicted three defeats upon Ben-hadad III. (Mari'), and recovered all the cities that had been taken from his father.[2] He had to suffer somewhat from incursions of the Moabites, who continued the policy of reprisal begun by Mesha,[3] but their attacks seem to have inflicted little damage.

Amaziah, king of Judah, was obliged to repel an Edomite invasion, caused probably by the pressure of Arabian tribes in the rear. His campaign was brilliantly successful, for he slew 10,000 men in the Valley of Salt, took Sela, the capital, by storm, and hurled multitudes of its people down from the crags.[4] In consequence of this victory he secured possession once more of the route to the Red Sea, but he does not seem to have overthrown the Edomite kingdom. In the time of Ahaz and of Tiglath-pileser III. an independent king of Edom is mentioned both by the Hebrew and by the Assyrian records.

Elated over his success, Amaziah resolved to throw off his allegiance to Jehoash, king of Israel, and challenged him to come up and "look him in the face."

[1] *Eponym List* for the year 797. [2] 2 Kings xiii. 25.
[3] 2 Kings xiii. 20. [4] 2 Kings xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 11 f.

Jehoash attempted to dissuade him, but finding this impossible, joined battle at Beth-shemesh and defeated him. Following up this victory, he broke down a section of the wall of Jerusalem, plundered the temple, and took hostages for future good behaviour.[1] The Book of Kings then records [2] how the people of Judah conspired against Amaziah, slew him in Lachish, and made his son Azariah (Uzziah) king in his stead. That this revolt was due to his unsuccessful war with Jehoash seems obvious. If this be so, then the long reign of twenty-nine years that is assigned him by the Book of Kings is impossible. Wellhausen's assumption of nine years instead of twenty-nine, meets the historical conditions, but is only a conjecture. All that we can be sure of is, that Amaziah cannot have outlived Jehoash, and that Uzziah must have come to the throne of Judah about the same time that Jeroboam II. came to the throne of Israel (784 B.C.).

In 783 Shalmaneser III. began to reign over Assyria, and about the same time a new king must have reigned over Damascus. His name is not known, but Winckler conjectures that it was Tabeel, mentioned in Isa. vii. 6. During the reign of Shalmaneser III. Assyria suffered still more severely from the attacks of Armenia. Menuas, the successor of Ispuinis and Argistis I., his successor, have left inscriptions on the rocks near Van, in a modified Assyrian character, but in the language of Armenia, in which they record their successes against Assyria and their conquest of regions in Asia Minor and

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 8–14. [2] 2 Kings xiv. 19–21.

North Syria. From Shalmaneser III. and the next two kings we possess no historical inscriptions, a fact which shows that this was a time of weakness. Only the *Eponym Canon with Historical Notices* enables us to trace the general course of events.[1]

Nearly the whole of the reign of Shalmaneser III. (783–773) was taken up with campaigns against Armenia. Only in 775 did he find leisure to traverse Northern Syria as far as Amanus, "the cedar-mountain." On this campaign he doubtless received the tribute of the nations that still remained loyal to him, but the northern tier of states, in which the Hittites predominated, had all gone over to Armenia, and remained loyal to that power until the time of Tiglath-pileser III.[2]

Ashur-dan III. (773–755) undertook at the beginning of his reign an expedition against Damascus, with what results we do not know. In 772 and 765 he attacked Khatarika (Hadrach), a district to the north of Damascus; but after this pestilence and civil war broke out, and there was no campaign until 755, when Hadrach was once more attacked.

Ashurnirari II. (754–746) conducted one expedition against Arpad in 754, but the rest of his reign was spent in inactivity at home. During this period of Assyria's decline the Syrian states probably all recovered their independence, and when Tiglath-pileser III. began anew the work of conquest, he found them almost as strong as they had been when Shalmaneser II. came against them. How far these states were menaced by Armenia, and whether Damascus was

[1] *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i. 208 ff. [2] See p. 731.

forced to contend against this enemy, when it was not fighting with Assyria, we do not know.

Within this period, which is covered by the long reigns of Jeroboam II. of Israel and Uzziah of Judah, falls the highest development of the Hebrew peoples since the days of David and Solomon. Damascus was too crippled by her wars with Assyria to hold them longer in subjection, and Assyria was too weak to collect tribute of the Palestinian states. The result was that both Israel and Judah enjoyed a brief season of unparalleled prosperity. Jeroboam, in accordance with a prediction of the prophet Jonah son of Amittai, "restored the border of Israel from the Entrance of Hamath[1] to the Sea of the Arabah (Dead Sea)."[2] To his conquests east of the Jordan Amos probably alludes when he speaks of Israel as rejoicing in Lodebar; and saying, Have we not taken Karnaim by our own strength?[3] The text of 2 Kings xiv. 28 is hopelessly corrupt, still it points to successes of some sort against Damascus. It is clear from 2 Kings xiv. 26 f. that the editor of the Book of Kings, although he records little about Jeroboam, regards him as one of the greatest kings that reigned over Israel. It is a plausible conjecture, since he restored the border of Israel as far as the Sea of the Arabah, that he reconquered Moab, and to this event the old oracle quoted by Isaiah in xv. 1–12 is supposed by many to refer.

Contemporaneously with these events Uzziah was busy strengthening the kingdom of Judah. He took

[1] See p. 184. [2] 2 Kings xiv. 25.

[3] Am. vi. 13, with amended vowel-pointing, according to the conjecture of Grätz.

advantage of his father's victory over Edom to occupy and refortify the port of Elath on the Red Sea near Ezion-geber, and thus he enriched Judah once more through trade with the East.[1] This is the only item in regard to his reign that the editor of Kings has preserved, but the Chronicler, who must have had access to ancient sources, records that he fought successfully against the Philistines and broke down the walls of Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod; also that he defeated the Arabians who dwelt in Gur[2] (Gerar?) and the Meunim (Minæans), and that the Ammonites paid him tribute. The Arabians we have met already in the army of Benhadad at the battle of Qarqar; there is no difficulty, therefore, in supposing that they came into conflict with Uzziah. The Minæan kingdom of South Arabia was still standing, and that it should have resented the interruption of its trade caused by the occupation of Elath is not remarkable.

Uzziah is said also to have developed agriculture and cattle-breeding, and to have refortified Jerusalem and equipped it with machines for hurling stones and arrows.[4] Whether these undertakings were carried out in the later years of his life after the death of Jeroboam and the break-up of the northern kingdom, or whether Jeroboam permitted the rebuilding of the stronghold that his father had dismantled, we do not know. The accounts of the reigns of Uzziah and of Jeroboam II. are both meagre, and the Assyrian records for this period are so few, that it is

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 22.

[2] On the text see Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, i., p. 46, note.

[3] 2 Chron. xxvi. 6–8.

[4] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9–15.

impossible to arrange the events in chronological order. It seems clear, however, that Uzziah was one of Judah's mightiest monarchs, and that, at least after the death of Jeroboam, he must have secured the complete independence of his kingdom.

The period of Uzziah and Jeroboam was the golden age of Israel. As a result of conquest and of commercial enterprise the accumulation of wealth was greater than had ever been known before. The rich lived in palaces of hewn-stone and of ivory. They reposed on couches with damask coverings. They lay upon beds of ivory, and stretched themselves upon sofas. They ate lambs selected out of the flocks, and calves fattened in the stall. They sang to the accompaniment of harps songs that they thought as fine as those of David. They drank beakers of rare wine, and anointed themselves with precious ointments.[1]

This prosperity, however, was restricted to the upper classes. While the nobles flourished, the poor grew constantly poorer. The peasant proprietors were crowded out, and all the land came into the hands of a few great nobles. The free-born Israelites sank to the position of serfs. Oppression and injustice flourished; and it was clear to thoughtful men, such as Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, that both kingdoms must soon perish. While the nobles were boasting of their victories, and were pluming themselves that theirs was the greatest nation, and were longing for the "Day of Yahweh" in which they should be victorious over all peoples, these three prophets declared that destruction was near at hand.

[1] Amos v. 11; iii. 15; iii. 12; vi. 1–6, 13, 14; Isa. ii. 6–v. 30.

For the contemporary history of the neighbouring nations we have little information. Amos records that the Aramæans were guilty of the unparalleled barbarity of putting the people of Gilead under iron threshing-sledges ; that both the Philistines and the Tyrians were in the habit of obtaining slaves by razzias into the territory of Israel ; that the Ammonites, merely to enlarge their borders, had ripped up the women of Gilead; and that the Moabites had invaded Edom and burned the bones of its king to lime.[1] Hosea adds the information that Shalman (perhaps the same as Salamanu, king of Moab, mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III.) spoiled Beth-arbel and dashed mothers and children to pieces.[2] Beyond this we know nothing of Israel's neighbours during the period of Assyrian inactivity.

[1] Amos i. [2] Hos. x. 14.

CHAPTER XII

THE ASSYRIAN SUPREMACY

745–625 B.C.

In 745 one of Ashurnirari's generals, taking advantage of a revolt in the city of Caleh, usurped the throne, and assumed the name of Tiglath-pileser in token of his determination to rival the conquests of his great namesake.[1] In his coronation year he marched into Babylonia, ostensibly to defend it from the incursions of the nomadic Aramæans, but really to make himself master of the country. The following year he chastised the rebellious tribes of the East. Then he was ready for conquests in the West.

During the reign of his feeble predecessors the provinces had thrown off their allegiance, and the more northerly ones had become tributary to Armenia. A certain Matiel had established himself at Arpad with the help of the Armenian Sarduri II., and had made it a centre of rebellion. Against him Tiglath-pileser marched in 743, and besieged his city.[2] Sarduri therefore invaded Mesopotamia with his allies, Sulumal of Melitene, Tarkhulara of Gurgum, and

[1] The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. have been published in a critical edition with transliteration and translation by Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III.*, 1893.

[2] *Eponym List* for the year 743.

Kushtashpi of Kummukh.[1] Tiglath-pileser was compelled to retreat from Arpad, but in Northern Mesopotamia he won a great victory which broke the power of Armenia and prevented further interference in the West. Then he returned to the siege of Arpad. When after three years' fighting it fell, nearly all the states of Syria submitted. Among the tributaries are mentioned Rezon of Damascus, Hiram of Tyre, and Pisiris of Carchemish. Tarkhulara of Gurgum and Kushtashpi of Kummukh abandoned their alliance with Sarduri and made their peace with Assyria.

Only Tutammu, king of Unqi ('Amq), refused to submit, but he was speedily conquered and his capital razed to the ground. In his case Tiglath-pileser inaugurated the policy of deportation. His predecessors made repeated expeditions to chastise rebels; but he prevented rebellion by removing stubborn nations to distant parts of his empire, where they were lost among a heterogeneous population. Cruel as this policy was, it was eminently practical, for it gave a unity to the Assyrian empire such as it had never before attained.

Among the kings who took sides with Sarduri was probably Panammu, son of Karal, whose statue of the god Hadad was found by the German expedition in 1890 at Gerjin near Zenjirli in Northwest Syria. This Panammu, who was deposed by Tiglath-pileser in favour of another Panammu, son of Bar-Tsur,[2] has left on the statue just mentioned the earliest known

[1] Rost, *Annals*, lines 59–101.

[2] *Panammu Inscription*, line 5; Winckler, *Altor. Forschungen*, i 1, p. 106; Marquart, *Fundamente*, p. 23.

Aramaic inscription.[1] The characters are those of the so-called Phœnician alphabet, and are nearly identical with those of the Mesha Inscription. Instead of being incised, however, as in the Mesha Inscription, they are cut in relief after the manner of the Hittite hieroglyphs. The language of this inscription is far closer to Canaanitic than are any of the later dialects of Aramaic. It indicates either that early Aramaic differed little from Canaanitic, or else that in this region the Aramæans mingled with an earlier Canaanitic population.

This inscription records how Panammu bar-Karal seized the sceptre of the kingdom of Ya'udi, and how under his rule it enjoyed unequalled prosperity. Then follow the last injunctions of Karal to his son to reverence Hadad and to erect a statue in his honour. Finally curses are launched against anyone who shall dare to injure this monument. The inscription is mutilated, and is obscure in many places; still it yields valuable information in regard to the early religion of Syria.

In 744, a year after Tiglath-pileser usurped the throne, the long and glorious reign of Jeroboam II. came to an end, and Zechariah, his son, ruled in his stead. At the end of six months he was murdered by Shallum, and a month later Shallum was slain by Menahem, a Gadite, and, therefore, probably a leader of the anti-Aramæan party. Menahem managed to keep himself on the throne for the next ten years, but only by exercising barbarous severity toward his opponents.

[1] Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 440, plate XXII.; Müller, *Contemporary Review*, April, 1894, p. 572. For other literature see p xxxv.

The city of Tiphsah (Tappuah?), which refused to open to him, he razed, and ripped up its pregnant women.[1] Israel was rent into hostile parties, one favouring an alliance with Damascus; another, with Assyria; and a third, with Mutsri (North Arabia). Civil war raged, and the nation was so weakened that it was certain to fall before the first onset of the Assyrians.

The decline of Israel brought for a season increased prosperity to Judah. For the first time since the reign of Jehoshaphat it ceased to be a vassal. Uzziah was smitten with leprosy in the later years of his reign,[2] but his son Jotham was associated with him in the government and seems to have been a wise and successful ruler. The exact year of his death we unfortunately do not know. If, as suggested above, we give Amaziah nine instead of twenty-nine years, he must have died in 739. This agrees well with the statement of Isa. vi. 1. Of Jotham's reign the Book of Kings records only that he built the upper gate of the temple,[3] but the Chronicle, which evidently rests here upon ancient sources, narrates also that he built the wall of Ophel and that he erected strongholds throughout the land of Judah. He also defeated the Ammonites and exacted from them 100 talents of silver, 1,000 measures of wheat, and 10,000 measures of barley as an annual tribute.[4] The early prophecies of Isaiah show that the prosperity inaugurated by his father continued throughout the whole of his own reign. "Their land is full of silver and gold, neither

[1] 2 Kings xv. 8–18.
[2] 2 Kings xv. 5.
[3] 2 Kings xv. 35.
[4] 2 Chron. xxvii. 3–6.

is there any end of their treasures; their land also is full of horses, neither is there any end of their chariots."[1]

In 739 Tiglath-pileser invaded Armenia and annexed a portion of it to Assyria. The following year he made a campaign against Patin[2] in North Syria. A certain Azriyau of the land of Yaudi had instigated a revolt, into which he had drawn nineteen districts of Hamath. This Azriyau of Yaudi has long been identified with Azariah (Uzziah) of Yehuda (Judah), but since Rost's publication of a more correct text of the inscriptions,[3] and since the investigations of Winckler,[4] this identification has become an impossibility. The centre of Azriyau's revolt was Kullani,[5] a city which is mentioned in the *Eponym List* as the goal of the expedition in 738. This was occupied by Azriyau himself, and here he fought against Tiglath-pileser. With his defeat the coalition at once fell to pieces, and the nineteen districts of Hamath were easily subdued. Now it is inconceivable that Azariah of Judah, who, according to 2 Kings xv. 5, was a leper during the latter part of his reign and dwelt apart, should have led an army in person through the independent states of Israel, Damascus, and Hamath as far as Kullani in North Syria, and there have headed a revolt against the king of Assyria. It is very doubtful, moreover, whether Azariah was alive as late as 738, since in 734 his

[1] Isa. ii. 7. [2] See p. 200.

[3] Rost, *Tiglat-Pileser*, *Annals*, lines 103–133.

[4] *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i. 1, 1–23.

[5] Perhaps the Calno of Isa. x. 9.

grandson Ahaz was already on the throne, and since some time must be allowed for the sole reign of his son Jotham. Accordingly, we must follow Winckler in regarding Azriyau, not as the king of Judah, but as the king of a North Syrian state by the name of Yaudi.

The existence of such a state has been proved by the recent discovery in Zenjirli and its vicinity of Aramaic inscriptions of the time of Tiglath-pileser erected by kings who style themselves "King of Ya'di (or, as it may be read, Ya'udi)."[1] Yaudi, accordingly, was a small district of the land of Patin, and lay between the kingdoms of Sam'al and Unqi. That a king of Yaudi should have exactly the same name as a contemporary king of Yehuda (Assyrian Yaudu) is a surprising coincidence; but seems, nevertheless, to be an established fact.

The divine name Yahu (Yahweh) as an element of proper names was not limited to the Israelites, but was known also to their Syrian neighbours, as is proved by the name Yau-bi'di (Ilu-bi'di) borne by a king of Hamath in the time of Sargon.[2]

The states which had joined Azriyau in his revolt, Tiglath-pileser deprived of autonomy and formed into an Assyrian province, which he placed under the rule of his son Shalmaneser. A large number of the inhabitants he transported to Armenia, and in their place he settled 30,000 Armenians whom he had conquered in the campaign of the year 739. The kings of Syria, seeing Tiglath-pileser's success, sent messengers bearing their tribute. Among these are men-

[1] See pp. 231, 236. [2] See p. 246.

tioned Rezon of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre, Sibitti-Baal of Gebal, Pisiris of Carchemish, Inilu of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, and Tarkhulara of Gurgum. The princes of Asia Minor, and Zabibi, queen of Aribi (Arabia in a restricted sense), also sent their presents.

With this payment of tribute by Menahem is usually combined the statement of 2 Kings xv. 19 that Pul, king of Assyria, came against the land, and that Menahem gave him 1,000 talents of silver to confirm him in his kingdom. Pul is the name under which in 729 Tiglath-pileser ascended the throne of Babylon. It does not appear from his Annals that he advanced so far south as is implied in the statement of the Book of Kings. Perhaps, seeing that Menahem was tardy in payment, he despatched a portion of his army against him; or the statement of Kings may mean no more than that Menahem feared an attack, and bought Tiglath-pileser off while he was still in Northern Syria. He raised the 1,000 talents by assessing 50 shekels upon every land-owner. This implies the existence of 60,000 men of means, a large number for so small a country as Israel.

Panammu of Sam'al, who paid tribute at the same time as Menahem, has recently become famous through the discovery of inscriptions of his son Bar-Rekub in the cemetery of Takhtaly Bunar and in the mound of Zenjirli. In the first of these inscriptions Bar-Rekub states that the house of his father Panammu, son of Bar-Tsur, was cut off by Panammu, son of Karal,[1] but that he applied to Tiglath-pileser for aid, and was

[1] See p. 230.

installed by him upon the throne of his father. He then attended the Assyrian king on his campaigns, and when he died during the siege of Damascus was buried with military honours. The portion of the inscription which refers to Panammu[1] reads as follows:

"Bar-Rekub has erected this monument for his father, Panammu, the son of Bar-Tsur, king of Ya'udi, (in memory of) the year of (the escape of) my father Panammu (from the fate of) his father. The gods of Ya'udi delivered him from the destruction that befell the house of his father, and his god Hadad helped him (and established) his throne. (A conspirator arose) and wrought destruction in the house of his fathers. And he slew Bar-Tsur, his father, and seventy (men) the brethren of his father. . . . And verily with the rest of them he filled the prisons, and he made the ruined cities more numerous than the inhabited ones. . . . (And the god Hadad said: "Because) ye have brought a sword into my house, and have slain one of my sons, I also will bring a sword into the land of Ya'udi . . . against Panammu, son of Karal . . . and grain, durra, wheat, and barley were destroyed; and a *peres* (of wheat) cost a shekel, and a *shatrab* (of barley) cost a shekel, and an *asnab* of drink, a shekel. And my father brought (tribute) to the king of Assyria; and he made him king over the house of his father, and removed (?) the stone of destruction from the house of his father. (And he brought out) from distress the gods of Ya'udi from. . . . And he opened the prisons, and set at liberty the prisoners of Ya'udi. And my father rose up and released the women of . . . the house of the slain and the . . . (And he rebuilt) the house of his father and made it more beautiful than at the first. And wheat, and barley, and grain, and durra were

[1] *Panammu Inscription*, lines 1–15. The translation is made from the text of Lidzbarksi, *Handbuch*, p. 442; plate XXIII. Passages in parentheses are conjectural restorations.

abundant in his days. Then food and drink (were plentiful) . . . were sold cheaply (?). And in the days of my father Panammu, verily he (Tiglath-pileser) appointed masters of the towns and masters of the chariots, but my father Panammu he seated among the kings of Kebar (?). (Although) my father (was not) either a possessor of silver or a possessor of gold, yet in his wisdom and in his righteousness he held to the side of his lord, the king of Assyria. (And the king of) Assyria (set him over) the prefects and the brethren of Ya'udi; and his lord, the king of Assyria, showed him favour above the kings of Kebar (?). . . . (And he ran) by the wheel of his lord, Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, (when he pitched) his camp from the rising of the sun unto its setting. (And Tiglath-pileser conquered) the four quarters of the world; and the daughters (populations) of the sunrise he carried to the sunset, and the daughters of the sunset he carried to the sunrise. And my father . . . and his lord, Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, added to his territory cities of the territory of Gurgum. . . . And my father Panammu son of Bar-Tsur. . . ."

Having reduced Northern Syria to submission, Tiglath-pileser spent the years 737–735 in campaigns against Media and Armenia. Meanwhile in 735 Menahem died and his son Pekahiah succeeded him. Menahem's payment of tribute to the Assyrians had made his dynasty unpopular, and within a year Pekahiah was assassinated by Pekah, son of Remaliah, a representative of the party that favoured alliance with Damascus.[1] His first act was to make a treaty with Rezon,[2] king of Damascus, in company with the Philistines and Tyrians to revolt against Tiglath-

[1] 2 Kings xv. 21–25.

[2] In view of the Assyrian records this spelling of the name is preferable to Rezin of the Book of Kings.

pileser. The allies were anxious that Judah also should enter the coalition; and when Jotham refused, Rezon and Pekah invaded his land.[1]

While the Syro-Ephraimitic war was in progress Jotham died, and his son Ahaz succeeded him. He was unfortunate in all that he undertook; his army was defeated, his cities were destroyed, and many of his people were taken captive. At last the allies marched against Jerusalem with the intention of breaking down its wall and of deposing Ahaz.[2] The situation was desperate, and at this crisis Ahaz apparently sacrificed his son to propitiate the deity,[3] as Mesha, king of Moab, had done under similar circumstances.[4] The Edomites, taking advantage of Judah's reverses, revolted and recovered the port of Elath, which from this time onward they retained.[5] The Philistines also invaded the south and captured a number of towns.[6] There was nothing left for Ahaz but to make an appeal to Tiglath-pileser. "And Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son: come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of Yahweh, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria."[7]

[1] 2 Chron. xxviii. 5–15; 2 Kings xvi. 5; Isa. vii. 1 f.

[2] Isa. vii. 6. [3] 2 Kings xvi. 3. [4] See p. 213.

[5] 2 Chron. xxviii. 17; 2 Kings xvi. 6. Here Edom should be read instead of Aram. Rezin is a gloss that has come into the text in consequence of the reading Aram.

[6] 2 Chron. xxviii. 18. [7] 2 Kings xvi. 7 f.

Tiglath-pileser was only too glad of an excuse to interfere in Palestinian politics. He marched at once to the rescue of Ahaz; and the allies, hearing of his coming, were obliged to leave Jerusalem and to put themselves on the defence. He advanced through Syria, ravaging as he went; but he did not stop to besiege Damascus. In Israel he took Ijon, Abel-beth-maachah, Janoah, Kadesh, Hazor, Gilead, Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried their inhabitants into captivity.[1] Then pressing on toward the south, he invaded Philistia. Hanno, king of Gaza, did not wait for his coming, but fled into Mutsri (probably North Arabia rather than Egypt).[2] Thither Tiglath-pileser pursued him, and having conquered its northern districts, appointed a certain Idi-bi'il as their governor. Upon this the princes of Syria once more brought their presents. Tiglath-pileser names as tributaries Matan-Baal of Arvad, Sanipu of Ammon, Salamanu of Moab, Mitinti of Ashkelon, Yaukhazi (Ahaz) of Yauda (Judah), Qaush-malak of Edom.[3] Pekah seems to have shut himself up in Samaria and, like Rezin, to have escaped for the present.

The following year (733) Tiglath-pileser began the siege of Damascus.[4] Fearing that Samaria's turn would come next, the adherents of the Assyrian party

[1] 2 Kings xv. 29. By some historians these events are assigned to the year 733 instead of 734, but chronological considerations in regard to the probable year of Ahaz's accession lead me to prefer 734.

[2] Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, i. 1, p. 24 f.

[3] Rost, pp 79, 71–73.

[4] *Eponym Canon* for the year 733.

slew Pekah and made Hoshea king.[1] He at once submitted to Assyria and was confirmed in the kingdom by Tiglath-pileser. The Assyrian version of this incident reads as follows: "Pekah, their king, they overthrew; and Hoshea I appointed (to the sovereignty) over them. Ten talents of gold . . . talents of silver, I received and brought them to Assyria."[2] The fall of Samaria was thus postponed for a few years.

Meanwhile the siege of Damascus went on. Rezon was shut in "like a bird in a cage." His gardens and parks were destroyed, his smaller towns were reduced to heaps of rubbish, and their inhabitants were impaled on stakes about the walls of the capital.[3] In the progress of this siege Panammu, son of Bar-Tsur, who was assisting Tiglath-pileser with his troops, died. An account of his last honours is preserved in the concluding portion of the inscription of Bar-Rekub:[4]

"Moreover my father Panammu died while following his lord, Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, in the camp. . . . And the heir of the kingdom bewailed him, and all the camp of his lord, the king of Assyria, bewailed him. And his lord, the king of Assyria, (afflicted) his soul, and held a weeping for him on the way; and he brought my father from Damascus to this place. In my days (he was buried), and all his house (bewailed) him. And I, Bar-Rekub, son of Panammu, because of

[1] 2 Kings xv. 30. The Book of Kings assigns Pekah a reign of twenty years, but this is manifestly a mistake, since Menahem is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser in 738 and Hoshea in 733, or 730 at the latest. Twenty is probably a mistake for two.

[2] Rost, p. 81, line 17 f.

[3] *Annals*, 197–209.

[4] *Panammu Inscription*, 16–23. See p. 236.

the righteousness of my father, and because of my righteousness, my lord, (the king of Assyria), seated (upon the throne) of my father, Panammu, son of Bar-Tsur; and I have erected this monument for my father, Panammu, son of Bar-Tsur, and I have built . . . before the grave of my father, Panammu. And as for this monument, may Hadad and 'El, and Rekub-'el, the Baal of the house, and Shemesh, and all the gods of Ya'udi, (curse anyone who injures it) before gods and before men."

From this we gather that Panammu must have died about 732, and that he was succeeded by his son Bar-Rekub, who followed his father's policy of adhering to Assyria. Another inscription that throws light upon his relation to Tiglath-pileser, and that explains how he obtained funds to erect a monument to his father and to build a mausoleum for the kings of Ya'udi, was found in 1891 at Zenjirli.[1] It reads as follows:

"I am Bar-Rekub, son of Panammu, king of Sam'al, servant of Tiglath-pileser, lord of the four quarters of the earth. Because of the righteousness of my father, and because of my righteousness, my lord Rekub-'el and my lord Tiglath-pileser seated me on the throne of my father. And the house of my father was destitute (?) of everything, but I ran by the wheel of my lord, the king of Assyria, among great kings, possessors of silver and possessors of gold. And I have undertaken (to build) the house of my father, and have made it more beautiful than the house of any one of the great kings. And my brethren the kings have envied (?) all the beauty of my house; and through me its beauty is such as my fathers, the kings of Sam'al, never had. It is a house of rest (?) for them, and it is a winter-house for them, and it is a summer-house; and I have built this house."

[1] Lidzbarski, p. 443; plate XXIV.; Winckler, *Mitteil. d. vorderas. Gesell.*, 1896, 4, p. 22.

In 732 Damascus fell. Rezon was slain, a multitude of his people were deported to Kir, and his kingdom became an Assyrian province. Mitinna, king of Tyre, seeing that his ally was defeated, hastened to make peace with Assyria by the payment of 150 talents of gold. Mitinti of Ashkelon, who had trusted that Damascus would prove strong enough to withstand Tiglath-pileser, on hearing of its fall lost his reason, and had to be deposed in favour of his son Rukibtu. The whole of Syria and Palestine now lay at the feet of Tiglath-pileser. In Damascus he held court, and thither went up all the conquered princes to offer their congratulations and their presents. Among them came Ahaz of Judah, and on his return he brought back the design of an Assyrian altar, which he erected in the temple at Jerusalem. Now that he was an Assyrian subject, he must pay his homage to Ashur, the god of his conqueror.[1]

During the next six years the small nations of Western Asia enjoyed peace. Tiglath-pileser was busy with the subjugation of Babylonia, and made no expeditions into Syria. The kings had learned a lesson, and paid their tribute promptly.[2] All was quiet until the year 727, when Tiglath-pileser died and his son Shalmaneser IV. came to the throne.[3] Then, as was to be expected, revolt broke out in various parts of the empire. Hoshea made an alliance

[1] *Annals*, 235 ff.; *Clay Tablet Inscription*, rev. 16; 2 Kings xvi. 9–16.

[2] This is stated expressly of Hoshea in 2 Kings xvii. 4.

[3] Our only Assyrian source for the reign of Shalmaneser IV. is the *Eponym Canon*.

with Sewe (So), king of Mitsrim, and refused to pay tribute.[1] Sewe, king of Mitsrim, has until recently been identified with Shabako, king of Egypt; but there are many objections to this view. The two names do not correspond; Sewe is called king, and not Pharaoh; and it is now quite certain that Shabako did not come to the throne as early as 727. For these reasons Winckler conjectures that Sewe is the same person as Sib'i, the *turtan* (general) of Pir'u, king of Mutsri, mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon. Mutsri is not Egypt, but the North Arabian land that we have met several times before in this history. The Arabians had already come into conflict with Tiglath-pileser, but the Egyptians had not; and the Assyrian conquests in Philistia interfered more seriously with Arabian than with Egyptian commerce. On the whole, therefore, Winckler's view commends itself as probable;[2] and if it be true, we must interpret a number of utterances of the prophets Hosea and Isaiah as referring to Mutsrim rather than Mitsrim, that is, to Arabia rather than to Egypt. The power of Egypt at this time was at a low ebb, and not until the founding of a new Ethiopian dynasty by Shabako did she regain a place of influence among the nations. On the other hand, there are many reasons to believe that the South Arabian Minæan kingdom still enjoyed a high degree of wealth and prosperity. Now that Damascus had fallen, it was the natural leader of the West Asiatic peoples against Assyria.

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 1.

[2] It has found the approval of Benzinger, Guthe, and Cheyne.

Other Syrian princes besides Hoshea doubtless went into the alliance, although we have no record to this effect, and Shalmaneser saw himself compelled to reconquer the lands that had been subdued by his father. The year 726 was spent in establishing his authority at home, but the following year he probably invaded Syria. Josephus[1] cites Menander, the Tyrian chronicler, as authority for an attack of Shalmaneser on Tyre. His words are as follows: "Elulaios (Luli in the Assyrian inscriptions) . . . ruled thirty-six (twenty-six) years. He subdued the people of Kittium (in Cyprus), when they revolted. In his day Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, overran the whole of Phœnicia; and then marched away, after he had made treaties and peace with all."[2] From this it appears that Shalmaneser, although he did not capture Tyre, at least compelled it to pay tribute.

In 724 he encountered Hoshea, defeated him, and took him prisoner.[3] Then began a three-year siege of Samaria. Before it was finished, Shalmaneser died, and Sargon,[4] a usurper, seized the throne.

At the beginning of his reign Samaria fell, and the kingdom of Israel came to an end. Twenty-seven

[1] *Antiquities*, ix. 14, 2.

[2] The remainder of the account of Menander, as has been shown by Landau, *Beiträge*, i. 9 ff., and by Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, ii. 1, 65 ff., refers to the times of Sennacherib and of Esarhaddon.

[3] 2 Kings xvii. 5. Some historians hold that Hoshea was not captured until the fall of Samaria in 722.

[4] The inscriptions of Sargon have been edited, transcribed, and translated most recently by Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, 1889.

thousand two hundred and ninety people, the flower of the nation, were carried into captivity, and were settled in the Mesopotamian province of Gozan and in Media. Their place was filled in 721 by Aramæans transported from Babylonia; and in 647, Ashurbanipal settled other colonists brought from Babylon, Kutha, Sippar, Susa, and Elam.[1] The northern kingdom became an Assyrian province, with Samaria as the residence of its governor. Judah continued to pay tribute and, therefore, for the present was left unmolested. To the payment of this tribute Sargon probably refers when he calls himself "Conqueror of the land of Yaudu, whose location is distant."[2] It is possible, however, that he means the North Syrian land of Yaudi.[3]

The year 721 was occupied with conflicts in Babylonia. Merodach-baladan, a Chaldean prince of Bit-Yakin on the shore of the Persian Gulf, took advantage of the death of Shalmaneser and the disturbances incidental to Sargon's accession to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the Elamites, and finally to seize the throne of Babylon.[4] Sargon, as soon as he had restored order at home, attacked him and his ally Khumbanigash, but with little success. Both sides claimed a victory, but both retreated immediately after the battle.

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11; xvii. 24; Ezra iv. 2, 8–10. Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, p. 4, line 11; p. 100, line 23 f.; p. 148, line 31.

[2] *Nimrûd Inscription*, 8; Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 168 f.

[3] See p. 234.

[4] *Bab. Chronicle*, i. 32; *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. 276 f.; *Cylinder Inscription*, 1, 17; *Keilinschr Bibl.*, ii. 40 f.

The rise of Merodach-baladan inspired the Syrian states once more with a desire for independence and in 720 a new coalition was formed, the prime movers in which were Yau-bi'di of Hamath, Hanno of Gaza, and Sib'i, the *turtan* of Mutsri. They were joined by Arpad, Simyra, Damascus, and Samaria. Yau-bi'di was an upstart, who had come to the throne of Hamath in consequence of a revolt of the national party against Ini-ilu (Eni-el), a partisan of Assyria. Hanno was the king whom Tiglath-pileser had hunted out of Gaza, and who had taken refuge in Mutsri. Now we find him back in Gaza, whither he had been restored, presumably, by the arms of Sib'i. Sib'i, the *turtan* of Pir'u, king of Mutsri, is, as we have seen,[1] not the king of Egypt (Mitsri), but the ruler of a district of Northwest Arabia, of which Pir'u, whose capital lay farther south, was the over-lord. The name Pir'u has nothing to do with Pharaoh, but is the personal name of the Arabian sovereign.

Whether Merodach-baladan of Babylon had a hand in this rebellion is uncertain. A number of critics assign to this time his embassy to Hezekiah recorded in 2 Kings xx. 12–19, but it is doubtful whether Hezekiah came to the throne as early as 720. Those who follow the synchronism in 2 Kings xviii. 9 place the beginning of his reign in 727, and those who follow the synchronism in 2 Kings xviii. 13 place it in 714. Both synchronisms, however, can be shown to rest upon editorial calculation of the data of the original records, and neither has greater historical value than the rest of the synchronisms in the Book

[1] Page 243.

of Kings. Under these circumstances the best that we can do is to calculate on the basis of the recorded lengths of the reigns of the kings of Judah. Ahaz, it is generally conceded, came to the throne in 734. Between this date and 586, when Jerusalem fell, is an interval of 148 years. If we assume that the last year of one king was also the first year of his next successor, that is, if we subtract 1 from the recorded lengths of each of the reigns from Ahaz to Zedekiah, the sum total is the same, 148. This is strong evidence in support of the accuracy of the traditional figures. If they be followed, Hezekiah began to reign in 719, too late, therefore, to have joined the alliance in 720. In 720 Judah apparently remained loyal, since there is no mention either in the Hebrew or in the Assyrian records of a revolt or of an Assyrian invasion. If Ahaz, the friend of Assyria, was still on the throne, this loyalty is easily explained.

As soon as Sargon heard of the rising he marched into Syria; and before the allies had time to unite their forces, defeated Yau-bi'di at Qarqar, captured him, and flayed him alive. Hamath submitted, and furnished a levy of chariots and horsemen to fight against its former allies.[1] Sargon then pushed southward to meet Hanno and Sib'i, who were the prime movers in the revolt. At Rapikhu (Raphia) in Southern Philistia a great battle was fought which resulted in victory for the Assyrians. Hanno was taken prisoner, and Sib'i fled back into Arabia. Thereupon Pir'u, king of Mutsri; Samse, queen of Arabia; and

[1] *General Inscription*, 33–36; Winckler, *Sargon*, pp. 102–105.

Itamara,[1] the Sabæan, bought Sargon off from further advance by sending him presents of gold, products of the mountains, and camels.[2] The combination of Mutsri with Arabia and Sabæa in this passage is alone sufficient to prove that Mutsri is not Egypt and that Pir'u is not Pharaoh. All Syria now submitted to Sargon. The rebels were punished with loss of privileges and with heavier impositions. The kings were deposed, and Assyrian partisans were appointed in their places. Thus the prestige of Assyria was once more restored.

The period from 719 to 712 was occupied chiefly with the subjugation of the northern peoples from Lake Urumia on the east to Phrygia on the west. Here Rusa, king of Armenia, was the chief disturber of the peace. In the main Sargon was successful against him, but the conquest of this region cost him much trouble. The captives were deported in part to Syria, and were settled in the neighbourhood of Hamath. In 715 there was war with some of the Arabian tribes, at the conclusion of which Pir'u of Mutsri, Samse of Arabia, and Itamara of Sheba once more paid tribute. The captive Arabians Sargon settled in the district of Samaria, to compensate in part for the people that he had recently deported. The only Syrian state to revolt during this period was Carchemish, the old Hittite stronghold, which in 717 made an alliance with Mita, king of

[1] The identification of this king with Yatha'amir of the Sabæan inscriptions by Lenormant has furnished a basis for the dating of these inscriptions.

[2] *General Inscription*, 25–27; Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 100 f.

Muski.[1] Sargon promptly chastised it, carrying away captive its king Pisiris, and transforming it into an Assyrian province.

In 711 there was a more formidable insurrection in the South. Pir'u, king of Mutsri, again encouraged the Philistines to believe that he would help them, and on the strength of this hope Ashdod revolted. Here a certain Akhimiti had been appointed king by Sargon in 720 in the place of his brother Azuri. Him the people deposed, and made Yatna, who is also described as Yamani, that is a Yamanite, king over them. Yatnan is the Assyrian name for Cyprus, and it has commonly been supposed that this adventurer was a Cypriote; but in view of the close political relations of Philistia with Arabia at this time, Winckler's view is more probable, that Yamani designates him as a native of Yemen in South Arabia.[2]

Once more the promptness of Sargon prevented the revolt becoming formidable. Without waiting to mobilize his entire army, he despatched an elite corps that was always in readiness, and struck Ashdod before it had time to summon its allies. The cities were plundered, and the people were deported. Yamani succeeded in escaping, and fled "to the borders of Mutsri, which belongs to the land of Melukhkha." Melukhkha is Western Arabia, and here once more it is clear that Mutsri cannot be Egypt.

[1] According to Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, ii. 2, p. 283, Mita is Midas of Greek legend.

[2] There is no evidence that Merodach-baladan had a hand in this revolution; some critics, however, assign to this year the account of his embassy to Hezekiah, 2 Kings xx. 12–19.

In this passage we learn for the first time the residence of Pir'u, who hitherto has stood in the background as the supporter of Sib'i and of the Philistines. He was king of Melukhkha, which probably is to be identified with the Old Testament Ma'in, the Minæans, and was suzerain of the king of Mutsri. From him Sargon demanded the surrender of Yatna; and Pir'u not daring to refuse, cast him into chains and delivered him up. The Palestinian states, Judah, Edom, and Moab, that had taken side with Ashdod, now humbled themselves and paid up their delinquent tribute. For the present they were allowed to escape without further penalty.[1] To the campaign of this year the title of Isa. xx. alludes: "The year that Tartan came to Ashdod, when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him, and he fought against Ashdod and took it."

In the North a small revolt broke out in the same year. Tarkhulara, king of Gurgum, whose capital was Marqasi, the modern Marash, was deposed by his son Mutallu,[2] but he was immediately overthrown by Sargon, and Gurgum was made an Assyrian province. With its fall the last vestige of Hittite rule in Northern Syria came to an end.[3]

In 710 Sargon gathered his forces for a supreme effort to crush Merodach-baladan. The Chaldean and Aramæan allies from South Babylonia and from beyond the Euphrates were first defeated. Then he

[1] *Annals*, 215–227; Winckler, *Sargon*, pp. 36–39; *General Inscription*, 90–112; Winckler, pp. 114–117; *Ashdod Campaign*, Winckler, pp. 186–189.

[2] Note the similarity of these names to those of the Hittite kings at the time of the Egyptian supremacy. See p. 106.

[3] Winckler, *Sargon*, pp. 34–37.

advanced upon Babylon. Merodach - baladan, not daring to risk a siege, withdrew to South Babylonia, where in the following year he was defeated and saved himself only by fleeing to Elam. Sargon was welcomed by the fickle Babylonians as a deliverer, and on the first of Nisan 709 became king of Babylon by the ceremony of grasping the hands of Bel and Nebo. All Western Asia was now obedient, and in recognition of his supremacy the princes of Cyprus, of Phrygia, and of Dilmun, an island in the Persian Gulf, sent their presents.

The remainder of Sargon's reign was uneventful. In 705 he died and was succeeded by his son Sennacherib.[1] The change of rulers was attended with the usual outbreak of revolution. Sennacherib's brother, whom he had appointed viceroy of Babylon, was overthrown by a certain Marduk-zakir-shum; but after a reign of one month he was dethroned by Merodach-baladan, who had taken advantage of the general confusion to return from Elam (704). The Syrian states were already planning revolt, and Merodach-baladan did his best to fan the flame. Elam was no longer on his side, as it had been at the time of his first occupation of Babylon; it was all the more important, therefore, that he should secure allies in the West, and by stirring up an insurrection there should divert attention from himself.

Here, accordingly, we find the most probable date

[1] The chief source for the reign of Sennacherib is the so-called *Taylor Cylinder*, Rawlinson, i. 37–42; translated by Bezold, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. 80–113, and by Rogers, *Records of the Past*, *New Series*, vi. 83–101.

for his embassy to Hezekiah that is recorded in 2 Kings xx. 12–19 (Isa. xxxix.). The prophetic document from which this episode is drawn places it in close connection with an account of Hezekiah's illness,[1] and this, according to 2 Kings xx. 6, occurred fifteen years before his death, at a time when he was dreading an attack of the Assyrians. In accordance with our previous calculation of the beginning of Hezekiah's reign,[2] he died in 691; his illness must, therefore, have fallen in 705, just when Judah began to plot treason against Sennacherib. The author of 2 Kings xx. has supposed that Merodach-baladan's embassy was merely to congratulate the king upon his recovery, but that there was a deeper motive is shown by the fact that Hezekiah showed the messengers all his treasures. Evidently some military plan was proposed, and he indicated how much he was willing to contribute.

That Merodach-baladan had also an understanding with the kings of Mutsri, and that his ambassadors visited other Syrian princes besides Hezekiah, is likely. In any case, soon after the accession of Sennacherib, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Philistia were in open revolt.[3] Hezekiah was the leading spirit, and those of his neighbours who hesitated to join the conspiracy he seems to have coerced.[4] Padi, king of Ekron, an Assyrian appointee, was delivered up to him by the nobles of Ekron; and he cast him into a dungeon in Jerusalem.[5] By this act he committed

[1] 2 Kings xx. 1–11 (= Isa. xxxviii.).
[2] See p. 247.
[3] 2 Kings xviii. 7.
[4] 2 Kings xviii. 8.
[5] *Prism Inscription*, ii. 69–72; *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, ii., p. 92 f.

Judah irrevocably to war. In preparation for it he strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem, provided for an abundant water supply, and concealed the wells outside of the city.[1] From the prophecies of Isaiah we gather that at some time during his ministry the Palestinian states entered into negotiations with Egypt as well as with Mutsri.[2] Unless with Winckler we assume a second campaign of Sennacherib against Syria,[3] we must refer these negotiations to the period under discussion. Shabako, the founder of the XXVth (Ethiopian) dynasty, is known to have been a contemporary of Sennacherib, for seal-impressions of both monarchs have been found together on a fragment of a clay tablet. Under this Nubian conqueror Egypt was unified, and began to take her place again among the great powers. The presence of his seal-impression in Nineveh shows that he maintained diplomatic relations with Sennacherib, but this would not prevent his also carrying on secret negotiations with the kings of Syria. If so, this is the first known interference of Egypt in the politics of Palestine during the period of the Assyrian supremacy. All other supposed earlier references to alliances with Egypt are, as we have seen, really references to alliances with the Arabian Mutsri and with the kingdom of Ma'in of which it was the vassal.

Instead of first quelling the revolt in the West, as

[1] 2 Chron. xxxii. 2–8; 2 Kings xx. 20.

[2] Isa. xxx. 1–5 certainly refers to Egypt; other passages may refer to Mutsri.

[3] See p. 258.

his predecessors had done, Sennacherib advanced at once against Merodach-baladan. A battle was fought at Kish in the neighbourhood of Babylon, in which Merodach-baladan was defeated and was compelled to flee after a second reign of only nine months. The remainder of the year 704 and all of 703 were occupied with the pacification of Babylonia. 702 was filled with a campaign against the remnant of the Kassites,[1] who dwelt in the mountains on the eastern frontier.

Not until 701 was Sennacherib free to punish the rebels in the West. Northern Syria seems to have remained loyal; he marched, therefore, without opposition as far as Phœnicia.[2] The allies had ample time to perfect their plans and to mass their forces; but, as was always the case, mutual jealousy prevented concerted action, and the result was that the Phœnician cities, Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Beth-zitti, Sarepta, Makhalliba, Ecdippa, and Acco were easily taken. Ushu, a city that lay on the land opposite the island of Tyre, was also captured, but Tyre itself was impregnable. Luli (Elulaios), king of Tyre and Sidon, who had already successfully opposed Shalmaneser IV.,[3] established his headquarters in Cyprus, and thence supplied his capital with provisions. To this time probably belongs the statement of Menander preserved by Josephus[4] that Sidon, Arka, Old Tyre (= Ushu), and many other cities revolted from Tyre and gave themselves up to the Assyrians. Since Tyre itself would not submit, the king of Assyria attacked it with 60 warships and 800 marines furnished by

[1] See p. 63. [2] *Prism Inscription*, ii. 34–iii. 40.
[3] See p. 244. [4] See p. 244, note.

the other Phœnician cities. These, however, were defeated by 12 Tyrian vessels, and 500 prisoners were taken. Finding that he could not conquer Luli, Sennacherib appointed Ethbaal king of Sidon, and placed under his rule all the cities that had formerly belonged to Tyre. Tyre was thus shorn of the larger part of her domain, and a rival power was raised up against her. Upon this Arvad, Ashdod, Ammon, Moab, and Edom submitted ; only Ashkelon, Ekron, and Jerusalem still remained obstinate. Luli soon after died in Cyprus, and Baal, the king mentioned in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, succeeded to the throne.

From Phœnicia Sennacherib advanced into Philistia. Ashkelon was captured, and its treasures and royal family were deported. Ekron, which had delivered up its Assyrian governor to Hezekiah, made a stubborn fight. While Sennacherib was besieging it, an army from the south came to its relief. "The kings of Mutsri summoned the archers, chariots, horses of the king of Melukhkha, an innumerable army, and came to help them." The kings of Mutsri have commonly been supposed to be Egyptian nomarchs ; but when we remember that as early as 701 Egypt was united under the Ethiopian dynasty, and that these kings of Mutsri summoned the king of Melukhkha (Western Arabia) to their help, the view of Winckler is more probable, that Mutsri here, as in previous passages, is Northwest Arabia. Sennacherib left Ekron and advanced to meet this army. At Eltekeh in Southern Philistia a battle was fought which resulted in victory for the Assyrians. Sennach-

erib then returned to Ekron, took the city by storm, and impaled the leaders of the anti-Assyrian party on stakes round about the walls. Their adherents he carried into captivity, but the rest of the people, who were not suspected of having assisted in the expulsion of Padi, he allowed to remain in their land, and over them he subsequently reinstated Padi as king.

Hezekiah alone now remained unconquered, and against him Sennacherib directed all his energy. Forty-six cities of Judah were taken by storm, and 200,150 people were captured, besides horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle, and sheep without number. Hezekiah was shut up in Jerusalem "like a bird in a cage;" and those of his people that attempted to desert were sent back, in order to reduce the supply of food more quickly. Hezekiah then submitted, and paid 30 talents of gold, 600 talents of silver, precious stones, ivory, elephant hides, costly woods, his daughters, the women of his harem, and male and female slaves. Padi, king of Ekron, was also surrendered. Jerusalem, however, did not fall into Sennacherib's hands.

Such in outline is the Assyrian account of this campaign. That it follows in the main the chronological order of events there is no reason to doubt. The only exception is the mention of the reinstatement of Padi over Ekron before the submission of Hezekiah, who held him captive. This, however, is naturally explained by the desire to finish up at one time the account of Sennacherib's dealings with Ekron.

Into this Assyrian account it is difficult to fit the incidents of the war that are recorded in the Book of

Kings. Since the discussion of Stade[1] it has been generally recognized that the Book of Kings contains extracts from three originally independent accounts of the campaign of Sennacherib: namely, (1) 2 Kings xviii. 14–16; (2) 2 Kings xviii. 13, 17–xix. 9a (or 8); (3) 2 Kings xix. 9b(or 9a)–37. The present position of these passages is due to the editor of the Book of Kings, and it is by no means certain that he has arranged them in chronological order.

The first episode, which is not found in the parallel history, Isa. xxxvi., and which in other ways shows its independent origin, records that Hezekiah sent messengers to Sennacherib while he was at Lachish, saying, "I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me I will bear." Sennacherib then imposed 30 talents of gold and 300 talents of silver, which Hezekiah raised by stripping his palace and by cutting off the plates of gold that decorated the temple. There is no doubt that this payment of tribute is the same that Sennacherib records at the close of his campaign. The only difference, that Hezekiah paid 300 talents of silver instead of 800, is plausibly explained by Brandis as due to a difference in weight between the Hebrew and the Assyrian silver talent.[2]

The second narrative, 2 Kings xviii. 17–xix. 9a, relates that Sennacherib sent to demand the surrender of Jerusalem; but that, at the advice of Isaiah, Hezekiah refused to yield; and that Sennacherib was presently obliged to abandon the siege in conse-

[1] *Zeitschrift f. alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1886, pp. 172 ff.

[2] Müntzwesen, p. 91.

quence of the advance of Tirhaqa, king of Ethiopia. This episode is placed by many critics before the payment of tribute recorded in xviii. 14–16, the assumption being that through payment Hezekiah escaped the necessity of surrendering his capital. If this had been the actual course of events, it is difficult to see how such an escape could have been celebrated by the Judæans as a glorious manifestation of the power of Yahweh. It seems necessary, therefore, to assume that, after receiving the tribute, Sennacherib perfidiously demanded the surrender of Jerusalem. Hezekiah was now helpless, but through the approach of Tirhaqa, king of Ethiopia, Sennacherib was forced to retire, and subsequently returned to Nineveh without taking the city.

The third narrative, 2 Kings xix. 9b–37, is usually regarded as a duplicate to the second, since it covers the same ground, often in identical words. Winckler,[1] however, attaches xix. 9 to the following passage and regards the third narrative, not as a duplicate to the second, but as an account of a later campaign of Sennacherib.

The basis for this view is that Tirhaqa was not king before 691, and therefore could not have relieved Jerusalem in 701. It is true that he did not officially assume the crown before 691, but we do not know that he was not already practically the ruler of Egypt as early as 701. It is certainly noteworthy that in 2 Kings xix. 9 he is called "king of Ethiopia (Cush)" and not king of Egypt, which may indicate that,

[1] *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, pp. 27–49. Followed by Benzinger, Guthe, and Krall.

although he was master of the situation, he had not yet been proclaimed Pharaoh. Besides, this verse is found in an extract from a biography of Isaiah that is admittedly late, and it is not impossible that its author may have been mistaken in supposing that Sennacherib came into conflict with Tirhaqa. This would be no more surprising than the mistake of 2 Kings xvii. 6 in ascribing the capture of Samaria to Shalmaneser instead of to Sargon.

It is clear, accordingly, that no sure ground exists for referring 2 Kings xix. 9a to an expedition later than the year 701. Accordingly, this verse must be regarded as part of the second narrative, 2 Kings xviii. 17–xix. 8, of which it forms the natural conclusion, explaining how Sennacherib came to give up the siege of Jerusalem. This being the case, no reason exists for referring the third narrative to a later date. Of a second campaign against Hezekiah about 681, as Winckler assumes, there is, apart from the passage under discussion, no evidence either in the Assyrian or in the Hebrew records. It is true that Esarhaddon mentions a later expedition of his father against the Arabians,[1] but there is no proof that at this time he came near Jerusalem or made another demand for its surrender. Moreover, it is improbable that Hezekiah lived as late as 681. As we have seen already,[2] the traditional figures for the reigns of the kings of Judah from Ahaz to Zedekiah agree in their sum total with the Assyrian data; there is no reason, therefore, to doubt their correctness; and they place the death of Hezekiah in 691.

[1] *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. 131. [2] See p. 247.

I conclude, accordingly, that 2 Kings xix. 9b–37 does not refer to a second campaign of Sennacherib, but is a parallel account to xviii. 17–xix. 9a of his demand for the surrender of Jerusalem in 701. In this case its statements may be used to supplement and to check those of its doublet. The only important difference between the two passages is in regard to the reason for Sennacherib's sudden departure. One connects it with the coming of Tirhaqa; the other, with the outbreak of a pestilence. Perhaps the two reports are supplementary; the reason why Sennacherib fled was that his army was so weakened by disease that he did not care to encounter Tirhaqa. With the narrative of the pestilence a story of Herodotus[1] has often been compared, which relates that Sennacherib, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, threatened Egypt; and that Sethos went to meet him with a small army. In the neighbourhood of Pelusium a swarm of field-mice invaded the camp of the Assyrians during the night and destroyed their quivers, bows, and shield-handles, so that the next day they were unable to fight, and were obliged to retreat in disorder. By many this story is regarded as a distorted tradition of the defeat of Sennacherib by Tirhaqa; it is doubtful, however, whether it really has any connection with this event. The priest-king Sethos has nothing in common with Tirhaqa, except that Herodotus makes him follow Shabako.

Whatever may have been the reason for Sennacherib's departure, the fact remains that, contrary to all anticipation, he failed to capture Jerusalem.

[1] ii. 141.

Isaiah's predictions were fulfilled, and the temple was crowned with glory as the abode of a god who was powerful enough to defeat the great gods of Assyria.

The years between 700 and 689 were spent in conflict with Babylonia and Elam. During this interval the West enjoyed peace, and Sennacherib could make no further attempt to capture Jerusalem. In 691 Tirhaqa (Tarqu) had sufficiently established his authority over Egypt to assume the title of Pharaoh. In the same year probably Hezekiah died, and Manasseh, his son, ascended the throne of Judah. In 689 Sennacherib captured Babylon, and in revenge for its repeated rebellions razed it to the ground.

The way was now clear for another invasion of the West, but whether it was actually undertaken we do not know, since at this point the Annals break off. In any case it is probable that after the capture of Babylon, Manasseh, king of Judah, and Baal, king of Tyre, submitted to Assyria, and thus avoided a repetition of the experiences of the year 701. Both kings are mentioned as tributaries in an inscription that belongs to the early part of the reign of Esarhaddon.[1]

Manasseh was a man of a very different type from Hezekiah. He persecuted the prophetical party, which advocated an independent national policy, and made it his ambition to conform Judah to the pattern of her heathen neighbours. It is even possible that he came to the throne in consequence of a reaction against the anti-Assyrian policy of his father. Probably, therefore, one of the first acts of

[1] *Broken Prism*, v. 13.

his reign was to make peace with Sennacherib, and to ingratiate himself by introducing Assyrian religious rites into Jerusalem.[1]

In 681 Sennacherib was assassinated by two of his sons as he was worshipping in one of the temples, and Esarhaddon,[2] another son whom he had made governor of Babylonia, succeeded to the throne.[3]

For the first time in Assyrian history there was no general revolt of the provinces following the accession of a new monarch. As governor of Babylon Esarhaddon had won the affection of his subjects; and when he became king, he endeavoured to make good the ruin that his father had wrought by rebuilding the holy city, and endowing its temples. As a result of this policy there was no Babylonian revolt during his reign. "The twenty-two kings of the Hittite land, of the sea coast, and of the midst of the sea," also paid their tribute; and when he undertook to build a palace for himself in Nineveh, they furnished materials to beautify it. Among them are mentioned Baal, king of Tyre; Menase (Manasseh), king of Judah; Qaush-gabri, king of Edom; Mutsuri, king of Moab; Puduilu, king of Ammon.

Only Sidon is absent from this list. As early as 678, apparently, Abd-milkot, the son of Ethbaal, whom Sennacherib had installed as king, entered into negotiations with Tirhaqa, king of Egypt, and re-

[1] 2 Kings xxi.; Micah vi.–vii.

[2] The chief inscriptions of Esarhaddon are translated by Budge, *The History of Esarhaddon;* and by Abel and Winckler in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. 120–153.

[3] 2 Kings xix. 36 f.; *Babylonian Chronicle*, iii. 34.

fused to pay tribute. In 676 Esarhaddon found leisure from his building operations to lead an army against him.

No help came from Egypt; and on the news of Esarhaddon's approach, Abd-milkot fled by ship to one of the Sidonian colonies in Cyprus, whence doubtless he expected to send aid to the besieged; but the fear of the Assyrians was too great; his former subjects delivered him up, and Esarhaddon beheaded him. Sidon soon fell, and an immense spoil was taken. The city was destroyed, and a new town was built on a new site and peopled with captives from the eastern part of the empire. Sanduarri, king of Kundi (perhaps = Kyinda), who had joined Abd-milkot in his revolt, was also captured and beheaded.

In 674 Arabia was invaded. Securing the help of Aribi (the Arabians in a narrow sense) and of the Sabæans, Esarhaddon penetrated into the extreme south of the peninsula, defeated the king of Melukhkha, and apparently brought this kingdom to an end. From this time onward the Minæans disappear from history, and the Sabæans take their place as the dominant race in Arabia. The coveted prize of the spice-trade was thus won at last, and a short route across the desert was secured for the long-planned attack upon Egypt.

The fall of Sidon encouraged Baal, king of Tyre, to hope that he might once more secure the territories on the mainland that had been held by his forefathers. Accordingly, he made an alliance with Tirhaqa, and threw off his allegiance to Assyria. In 673 Esar-

haddon came up against him and besieged his capital.

This was probably the five-year siege of Tyre that Menander in Josephus appends to the account of Shalmaneser's invasion[1] of Phœnicia. Menander reports that the king of Assyria, finding that he could not storm the city, set guards over all the springs and rivers of the mainland whence the Tyrians were accustomed to fetch water; but that they made cisterns for rain and thus held out against him. At this time, as during the whole period of the Assyrian and of the Persian supremacy, the island fortress of Tyre proved impregnable. Alexander was the first to reduce it by building a mole that connected it with the mainland.

In the same year in which the siege of Tyre began, an expedition was sent against Egypt, but it met with no success. In 670 Esarhaddon renewed the attack, and this time swept all before him. Tirhaqa was defeated at Iskhupri near the frontier, and fell back upon Memphis. Fifteen days later this city fell, and was given over to destruction. Tirhaqa's wives and children were captured, and he himself made his escape to his native land of Kush. Esarhaddon then divided Egypt into twenty-two provinces, which he placed under the rule of tributary native princes.[2] Baal, king of Tyre, hearing of the rout of his ally, concluded that further opposition was useless, and began to enter into negotiations for peace.

[1] See p. 244.

[2] *Stele of Zenjirli*, lines 35–49; see von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, p. 41.

Just at this time the stele of Esarhaddon, recently discovered by the German expedition at Zenjirli, was erected. The artist represents the king in heroic size, standing with cords in his hands that pass through rings in the lips of Tirhaqa and of Baal, who crouch before him in a suppliant attitude. The inscription records the conquest of Egypt, and doubtless the sculptor intended to add the subjugation of Baal; but before the monument was finished events took a new turn. No sooner had Esarhaddon left Egypt than Tirhaqa returned at the head of a Nubian army, reoccupied Memphis and overthrew the Assyrian governors. Hearing of this, Baal of Tyre once more defied Esarhaddon; the siege, therefore, was resumed. The sculptor at Zenjirli who had depicted Baal with a ring in his lips was obliged to omit reference to his capture in the accompanying text.

In 668 Esarhaddon undertook another Egyptian campaign, and having a presentiment of his approaching death, appointed before setting out his son Ashurbanipal his successor in Nineveh, and another son, Shamashshumukin, his successor in Babylon. The route led through Syria and Palestine, and the twenty-two kings that had previously furnished materials for the building of the palace, brought gifts and joined their forces to the army. Baal of Tyre now submitted, paid his tribute, and furnished his contingent of troops. Tyre itself remained in his hands, but all the cities on the mainland that had formerly belonged to him were taken away and were included in the Assyrian province of Sidon. Before entering Egypt Esarhaddon died, and Ashur-

banipal [1] either took the lead in person, or ordered the army to proceed under the command of a general. At Karbanit in the Delta the Egyptian army was defeated, and Tirhaqa, who had remained in Memphis, fled to Thebes, and then to a stronghold in Nubia. Memphis was again occupied, and the twenty-two nomarchs that Esarhaddon had appointed were reinstated.

As soon as Ashurbanipal departed the nomarchs began again to treat with Tirhaqa. But for his death, which occurred while the negotiations were in progress, he would doubtless have returned once more to Egypt. Tanut-Amen (Tandamane), his successor, carried out his programme, occupying Thebes, and besieging the Assyrian garrison that had been left in Memphis. A swift messenger brought tidings to Ashurbanipal, and he at once despatched an army under the command of the *turtan*. On its approach Tanut-Amen retreated from Memphis to Thebes, and finally was obliged to take refuge in Nubia. In 667 or 666, Thebes, the proud capital of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, was captured and destroyed. Its plunder was transported to Nineveh, the Assyrian provincial governors were reinstated, and the army returned to Nineveh.

In 660 war broke out with Elam and raged until 645. Psammetik I., the son of Necho I., whom Esarhaddon had appointed governor of Memphis and Sais, took advantage of Ashurbanipal's preoccupa-

[1] The inscriptions of Ashurbanipal are published in part by G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*; S. A. Smith, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*; Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. 152–269.

tion, declared his independence, and succeeded in uniting Egypt under his rule. With him begins the XXVIth Egyptian dynasty. The boasted victories of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal were a fruitless waste of energy, for Assyria never again gained possession of the Nile valley. While the Egyptian campaigns were going on, the northern provinces were being wrested one by one from the empire by Indo-Germanic hordes who were destined presently to found the Median and Persian kingdoms and to put an end both to Assyria and to Babylon. Against these northern barbarians neither Esarhaddon nor Ashurbanipal made an effective stand, and their gains in Africa were but a poor offset to losses in Armenia and Asia Minor that brought destruction ever nearer to their frontier.

In 652 Shamashshumukin, whom Esarhaddon had appointed king of Babylon, endeavoured to throw off his allegiance to his brother. Secret messages were sent to the disaffected in all parts of the empire, and a great conspiracy was formed, such as had not been seen since the days of Merodach-baladan. Akkad, Chaldea, Elam, the Aramæans of the Euphrates Valley, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia all agreed to a simultaneous revolt. Manasseh and the other Syrian princes, who for fifty years had paid their tribute without protest, and who seemed to have forgotten how to rebel, were once more up in arms. To this period probably refers the statement of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14–16 that Manasseh built an outer wall to the city of David, and raised up Ophel to a great height, and put out the strange gods from the temple. Having

renounced his allegiance to Assyria, he naturally suspended the worship of its deities.

If the allies had only stood together, Ashurbanipal must inevitably have been defeated; but Elam and Aribi alone sent troops to the aid of Shamashshumukin, and although he made a stubborn fight, he was at last shut up within the walls of his capital. After suffering all the horrors of starvation, Babylon fell in 648, and Shamashshumukin perished in the flames of his palace. On hearing of his fate the princes of Syria and Palestine, except those of Ushu (Tyre on the mainland) and Akko,[1] hastened to renew their allegiance and to present themselves in person to beg pardon for their revolt. According to 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 f. Manasseh was brought in chains to Babylon, but was subsequently restored to his throne. There may be some exaggeration in the statement that he was brought in chains, but that he had to appear before the king of Assyria and be reinstated is altogether probable. In 647 Ashurbanipal was present in Babylon to be crowned under the name of Kandalanu, and in this year we find the most probable date for the visit of Manasseh.

About the same time Ashurbanipal (= Osnappar) settled in Samaria people of Babylon, Cutha, Sippar, Susa, and Elam that he had taken captive during his recent campaign. Out of the mixture of these settlers with the remnants of the old Hebrew population arose the later nation of the Samaritans. Since the deportation of Israel in 722, lions and other wild beasts had multiplied in the land, and they wrought

[1] *Rassam Cylinder*, ix. 117–123.

havoc among the colonists. Attributing this to the wrath of the local god, they appealed to Ashurbanipal, and he sent them a priest from among the exiles that Sargon had deported to teach them the religion of Yahweh.[1]

After the capture of Babylon Ashurbanipal set out to punish the Arabian tribes that had assisted Shamashshumukin. Great changes had taken place in the political geography of Arabia since the expeditions of Sennacherib and of Esarhaddon. Melukhkha (Ma'in of the O. T.) had fallen, and the hegemony in North Arabia had passed to Aribi, the tribe from which our name of Arabia is derived, of which Qidrai and Nabayati (Kedar and Nebaioth of the O. T.) were a part. These tribes had occupied Mutsri and the Hauran and had seized many towns in Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Zubitu (Zobah?). In their advance we see the beginning of the Nabatæan, or fourth great Semitic migration, that in the next century overflowed a large part of Syria and Palestine. Ashurbanipal traversed the Syrian desert, destroying the encampments of the Bedawin and capturing their camels as far as Moab and Edom. Yauta, king of Kedar, fled to the Nabatæans, and his grand-nephew Uaite, who continued to oppose the Assyrians, was taken and carried to Nineveh, where he was set in a cage at the door of the palace to act as a watch-dog. A certain Abiyate was appointed king in his place.

Abiyate soon united with the Nabatæans and the Kedarenes to resist Assyria, and Ashurbanipal was obliged to make a second expedition into Arabia.

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 24–41; Ezra iv. 8–10.

Aribi and Kedar were chastised, but the Nabatæans were not touched. On the return march he traversed Palestine and reduced the Phœnician cities of Ushu and Akko that had probably revolted at the time of Shamashshumukin's rebellion and had remained independent ever since.[1]

In regard to the period between the Arabian campaigns and Ashurbanipal's death in 626 we have no sources of information. Apparently the king spent the remainder of his days in the tranquil enjoyment of the fruit of his labours, and the provinces remained submissive. In 637 the long reign of Manasseh came to an end, and his son Amon succeeded him. According to the Book of Kings,[2] Amon walked in the way of his father and served the idols that he served, from which we may infer that he remained a vassal of Ashurbanipal. The conspiracy to which he fell a victim was probably due to a desire of the nobles of Judah to escape from the burdensome exactions of Assyria. The people of the land, however, took the side of the house of David, slew the conspirators, and made the child Josiah king.[3] The relation to Assyria, accordingly, remained as it had been before.

[1] See p. 267. [2] 2 Kings xxi. 20. [3] 2 Kings xxi. 23 f.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEW BABYLONIAN SUPREMACY

The decline of Assyria had been going on ever since the days of Sennacherib, and after the death of Ashurbanipal the empire rapidly broke up. About 624 the Scythians, a new wave of Indo-Germanic migration, broke upon Western Asia. According to Herodotus[1] their hordes defeated the Medes, and advanced as far as the gates of Nineveh. Then they traversed Syria and Palestine, pillaging and slaying as they went, until they reached the border of Egypt, where they were bought off by Psammetik I. For twenty-eight years they terrorized Western Asia, and then disappeared as suddenly as they had come. The prophecy of Zephaniah and the early oracles of Jeremiah were uttered at a time when it was feared that they might leave the coast-road and invade Judah. They also furnished the colours with which Ezekiel painted the terrors of "the day of Yahweh."

Through this Scythian invasion the Assyrian empire was shattered, and its former vassals hastened to divide the fragments among themselves. Nabopolassar, prince of the Chaldeans who dwelt on the shore of the Persian Gulf, succeeded, like the Chaldean Merodach-baladan, in making himself king of

[1] i. 104 f

Babylon. At first he acknowledged the suzerainty of Ashuretililani(ukini), the successor of Ashurbanipal; but soon he formed an alliance with the Indo-Germanic Medes, who had recently destroyed the ancient kingdom of Elam, to partition the Assyrian Empire between themselves. Nabopolassar took the plain of Mesopotamia, and Cyaxares took the mountain regions enclosing it on the east and north. Josiah, king of Judah, was now of age, and was animated with the patriotic ideals of the prophetic party. Soon after the death of Ashurbanipal, probably, he declared his independence, and the reforms which 2 Chron. xxxiv. assigns to the beginning of his reign were apparently nothing more than a repudiation of the Assyrian cult that had been introduced by his forefathers. The extension of his iconoclasm into the province of Samaria is an additional evidence of his hostility to Assyria. In the eighteenth year of his reign the discovery of the Book of Deuteronomy in the temple[1] gave a powerful impulse to the reforming tendency and to the prophetic national party that repudiated foreign alliances as disloyalty to Yahweh. The other kings of Syria and Palestine doubtless followed the example of Judah and threw off their allegiance to a dying empire; of this, however, we have no explicit record. By the year 609 Mesopotamia had passed into the hands of Nabopolassar, and all the provinces in the North and in the West were lost. Sinsharish-

[1] 2 Kings xxii.-xxiii. This was in the year 621, if we follow the Babylonian method of reckoning used by late writers; 619, if we suppose that the first year of one king's reign was the last of his predecessor.

kun (Sarakos), the last king of Assyria, ruled over little more than the old home-land of Ashshur.

In 609 Psammetik I. died and his son Necho II. succeeded him. According to Herodotus he attempted to bring the trade of Arabia and India into his hands by cutting a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea. Failing in this, he determined to capture the land-route between India and the Mediterranean. In 608, probably, he set out to conquer Syria and to give the *coup de grâce* to Assyria.[1] The Philistine cities submitted, and he advanced without opposition, like one of the old Egyptian conquerors, as far as the Plain of Esdraelon, the ancient battle-field of Syria, where he was met by Josiah, king of Judah. It was not loyalty to Assyria that impelled Josiah to fight with him, but rather unwillingness to accept a new master when he had so lately escaped from the old one, and also a religious enthusiasm which led him to believe that the God of Israel would not suffer his true worshipper to be conquered. In the battle of Megiddo [2] Josiah was defeated and slain, and with his death the hope of a brighter future for Judah came to an end. Necho then pressed on into Northern Syria, captured Kadytis (probably Qadesh on the Orontes), and made his headquarters at Riblah in the land of Hamath.

Meanwhile the Judæans chose Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, king, but Necho refused to confirm him,

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 29–30; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20–25.

[2] Herodotus, ii. 159, seems to place the battle at Migdol on the border of Egypt rather than at Megiddo, but this is probably less accurate.

cast him into chains at Riblah, and sent him a prisoner to Egypt. His brother Eliakim was appointed under the throne-name of Jehoiakim, and a tribute of one hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold yearly was laid upon him. This Jehoiakim raised by an extraordinary tax upon all land owners.[1]

Before Necho could come into conflict with Assyria Nineveh fell, probably in the year 607. The Medes under Cyaxares, with the connivance, if not with the actual support of the Babylonians, forced Sinsharishkun back within his capital, defeated his ally Madyas, king of the Ashkuza (another Indo-Germanic people, the enemies of the Medes), and finally captured Nineveh itself. For a thousand years this city had been unconquered, and all the riches of the earth had flowed into it. It was now razed to the ground, and its treasures were divided among the northern barbarians. The great Assyrian empire, that for centuries had trodden down the nations, was fallen, never to rise again. From that day to this Nineveh has not been rebuilt.

Necho had come out with the expectation of gaining part of the spoil, but he was too late ; and he now found that instead of fighting with the decrepit Assyrian empire he must encounter the vigorous young Chaldean empire. Nabopolassar had no intention of allowing the prize that was about to fall into his hands to be wrested from him by Egypt ; accordingly he sent an army against Necho under the command of his son Nebuchadrezzar. A battle was fought in 605 at Carchemish on the Euphrates in which it was

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 31–35.

decided that the heritage of Assyria was to belong not to Egypt but to Babylon.

Nebuchadrezzar was not able to follow up his victory immediately, for news of his father's death reached him soon after the battle, and he was obliged to return at once to Babylon to secure his succession. By the year 600 he had organized the government at home, and was ready to take possession of the western provinces of the fallen Assyrian empire. The princes of Syria and Palestine seem to have submitted to the new master without a blow. They were reinstated, and were placed under tribute, "and the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken, from the Brook of Mutsri unto the River Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt."[1] 2 Kings xxiv. 1 records merely that Jehoiakim became the servant of Nebuchadrezzar, but 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 f. states that he was bound in fetters and that some of the vessels of the temple were carried away. If this statement be historical, it indicates that Jehoiakim at first tried to resist Nebuchadrezzar, and that this policy nearly cost him his kingdom. In regard to the fate of the other Syrian kingdoms we have no information. The records of the Babylonian monarchs are almost exclusively accounts of their buildings, and contain little of the historical matter that is found in the Assyrian annals.

For three years Jehoiakim paid his tribute, and then, trusting presumably to the help of Necho, he refused to pay it longer. In 599, accordingly, Nebu-

[1] 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

chadrezzar came up against him. Before his arrival, however, Jehoiakim died and Jehoiachin, his son, succeeded him. He was unable to make a stand against the Chaldeans, and the expected help from Egypt did not arrive; so that he was constrained to go out from Jerusalem and to cast himself upon the mercy of the conqueror. Nebuchadrezzar spared his life, but deposed him and appointed his uncle Mattaniah king under the throne-name of Zedekiah. Jehoiachin, his mother, his wives, and all the better portion of the population of Jerusalem he carried captive to Babylonia, and settled them on vacant lands near his capital. By the removal of the upper classes and of the army he trusted that the spirit of Jerusalem would be broken and that it would no more revolt, but in this expectation he was disappointed. The remnant of the population flattered itself that it had escaped on account of its superior righteousness, and believed the false prophets who declared that the yoke of Babylon would presently be broken. In 593 ambassadors of Moab, Edom, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon arrived in Jerusalem to arrange for a general revolt; but at the earnest entreaty of Jeremiah, Zedekiah refrained from committing himself.[1] Having nevertheless fallen under suspicion of conspiracy, he was obliged to go to Babylon in order to clear himself.[2]

In 588 Hophra came to the throne of Egypt and at once inaugurated a vigorous anti-Babylonian policy. The majority of the Syrian states were ready to form an alliance with him, and those that refused he

[1] Jer. xxvii., xxviii. [2] Jer. li. 59.

coerced. Herodotus[1] records an expedition against the Syrians and the Sidonians. Zedekiah joined the coalition, and Nebuchadrezzar perceived that prompt intervention was necessary or Egypt would rob him of his western provinces. In 588 he established his headquarters at Riblah in the land of Hamath and sent an army to starve Jerusalem into submission. The following spring (587) Hophra sent a force to the relief of his ally, and the Chaldeans were obliged temporarily to raise the siege. The joy of the Judæans knew no bounds, but it was short-lived. Hophra presently retreated, and the Chaldeans returned. In July 586 a breach was made in the walls and the city was taken by storm. Zedekiah tried to flee, but was captured and brought to Riblah, where his eyes were put out. A second deportation of the upper classes was then made, and only the poorest peasantry was left in the land.[2] Thus the little kingdom of Judah, that had survived the Assyrian supremacy, fell at last. Moab, Ammon, and Edom must have come to terms with Nebuchadrezzar in time to save themselves from a similar fate. Their troops were present at the siege of Jerusalem, and their joy over the fate of their old enemy was one of the hardest things that the Jews had to bear.

In spite of Nebuchadrezzar's double deportation a large proportion of the population still remained in the land, but this consisted of the lowest classes and was incapable of political organization. Over this remnant Gedaliah, a friend of the prophetical party,

[1] ii. 161. [2] 2 Kings xxv. 4–21.

was appointed governor. He went bravely to work to build up a commonwealth upon the ruins of the old kingdom, but was presently assassinated by Ishmael, a representative of the house of David, who was jealous of the growing prosperity of the community under Babylonian rule. The few remaining nobles, fearing the vengeance of Nebuchadrezzar, fled to Egypt, taking Jeremiah and Baruch with them.[1] In punishment probably for this revolt a third deportation, mentioned in Jer. lii. 30, was made in 581.

While these events were taking place, Tyre was being besieged for thirteen years.[2] The ordinary view is that this siege began in 585, but it is possible that it began as early as 598. Nebuchadrezzar was as unsuccessful as all the Assyrian kings had been. Tyre preserved its independence, and lived to see the fall of the new Babylonian empire.

About 570 Amasis succeeded Hophra, and negotiations were probably begun once more to induce the peoples of Syria to revolt. In 568, accordingly, Nebuchadrezzar sent an expedition which defeated Amasis and captured his horses and troops.[3]

After the death of Nebuchadrezzar in 562 the empire that he had built up went quickly to pieces. His son Amil-Marduk (Evil-Merodach) was slain at the end of a two years' reign by the priesthood, and his brother-in-law, Nergal-shar-utsur (Neriglissor), was made king. During his reign the inevitable struggle for supremacy with Media, that Nabopo-

[1] Jer. xli.–xliii.; 2 Kings xxv. 12, 22–26.

[2] Josephus. *Cont. Apionem*, i. 21

[3] Strassmeier, *Babylonische Texte*, vi., No. 329.

lassar and Nebuchadrezzar had averted by prudent matrimonial alliances, at length broke out. After a reign of only three years he was succeeded by his son Labashi-Marduk (556), who was almost immediately assassinated. Nabu-na'id (Nabonidus), a native Babylonian, and hence probably the leader of a reaction against the Chaldeans, then succeeded as the last king of Babylon (555).

Nabuna'id stood under the influence of the priesthood, and spent his entire time in rebuilding and beautifying the temples. To his archæological zeal in searching for the foundation-records of temples that he restored we owe much of our knowledge of early Babylonian chronology. Such undertakings did nothing for the defense of the empire, and he fell into disfavour with the military party. It would seem that for a large part of his reign his sovereignty was merely nominal, and that his son Belshazzar exercised all real authority.

The Medes, with singular fidelity, kept their treaty with Babylon as long as the house of Nebuchadrezzar was on the throne; but when it was overthrown by Nabuna'id, they felt themselves absolved from further obligation, and began to extend their empire beyond the old treaty limits. Astyages, the successor of Cyaxares, entered Mesopotamia and occupied the ancient city of Haran. Babylonia would presently have fallen into his hands, but for the sudden appearance of a new conqueror upon the scene. Cyrus, king of Anzan (a portion of Susiana), a vassal of Astyages, revolted against him in 550 and defeated him. Thereupon the troops of Astyages delivered

him up to Cyrus. Cyrus then captured Ecbatana and carried its spoil to Anzan, and the Median empire was at an end.

In 547 the Annals call Cyrus "king of Persia" as well as "king of Anzan." The natural inference is that between 550 and 547 he added Persia to his domain. In the same year probably he began his attack upon Crœsus, king of Lydia, whose kingdom in the West he dreaded as a possible rival to his own. Crœsus formed an alliance with Amasis, king of Egypt, Nabuna'id, king of Babylon, and other princes of the West to resist further advance on the part of Persia; but before troops could be sent from the various countries, Cyrus appeared in Asia Minor, and Crœsus rashly fought him single-handed. He was defeated, and with his fall the most formidable obstacle to the conquest of Asia was removed.

For the years 546 and 545 the Annals report merely that Nabuna'id was in retirement at Tema, while his son Belshazzar was in North Babylonia. Evidently he was with the army, waiting for the impending attack of Cyrus. The record of the next six years is broken out of the Annals; but in 539 we are informed that Nabuna'id, terrified at the near approach of Cyrus, brought into Babylon the images of the gods from all parts of the land. The army of Belshazzar was defeated at Upi (Opis); and Cyrus advanced upon Sippar, where Nabuna'id was residing. Nabuna'id fled to Babylon, and Sippar fell into the hands of the Persians. The main body of Cyrus's army then marched against Babylon under the command of Ugbaru (Gobryas), the city surrendered without a

struggle, and Nabuna'id was taken prisoner. In October 539 Cyrus entered Babylon and was welcomed as a deliverer by the inhabitants. He appointed Gobryas governor; and a little later, apparently, made his son Cambyses viceroy.

With the fall of Babylon the ancient history of the Orient comes to an end. Up to this time, in spite of all political changes, the Semites, in one branch or another, have been the dominant race. Now for the first time the sceptre passes to the Aryans, and a new era is inaugurated. The stupendous event by which the city that for two thousand years had been at once the Athens and the Rome of Western Asia lost its importance, marks also the conclusion of the early history of Syria and Palestine.

During the period of civil strife and of growing aggression on the part of the Aryans, Babylonian authority in Syria and Palestine was reduced to a mere name. The western nations might easily have established their independence; but through repeated deportations and through infusions of foreign colonists they had lost their national consciousness, and they preferred to remain in bondage. Meanwhile the Arabians, whose advance Ashurbanipal had checked, and who had a wholesome respect for the power of Nebuchadrezzar, began once more to press forward into Palestine. The Edomites were driven out of their old home, and settled in the south of Judah in the vicinity of Hebron.[1] Moab also seems to have lost its national existence. When Nehemiah undertook to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, his chief op-

[1] Obad. i. 7; 1 Chron. ii. 50 ff.

ponent was neither Edom nor Moab but Geshem the Arabian.[1]

The Babylonian period closes with an almost complete disintegration of the nations that had come into existence in consequence of the Aramæan migration. The old states, whose history we have traced for so many centuries, were dead, and under the stimulus, first of Persia and then of Greece, new states were about to come into existence. The story of these commonwealths belongs, however, not to the ancient, but to the mediæval period of the history of Syria and Palestine.

[1] Neh. ii. 19; iv. 7; vi. 1, 2, 6.

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